

VOLUME 81 • NUMBER 2 • APRIL 1976

# The American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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### Operation "Menace"

The Dakar Expedition and the Dudley North Affair

ARTHUR MARDER, University of California, Irvine. This is a masterly analysis of Operation "Menace", an unsuccessful attempt of an Anglo-Free French force, with de Gaulle aboard, to detach the French at Dakar from their adherence to the Vichy Government. The operation was undertaken at the insistence of Winston Churchill against all professional advice, and proved a fiasco. In the author's words, "'Menace' exemplifies . . . all that can go wrong in warfare."

1976

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Edited by HENRY L. SNYDER, University of Kansas. The first complete edition of the Marlborough-Godolphin correspondence, these volumes include over 1,700 letters, most of which have never been published before, and provide the most important source for the study of diplomacy and politics in the reign of Queen Anne. Godolphin's letters to Marlborough from 1701 through 1705 are missing for the most part, but otherwise the series is remarkably complete.

1976

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The Development of Political and Military Policies

CHARLES TOWNSHEND. A comprehensive account of the British employment of military and para-military forces in Ireland between 1919 and 1921, this volume provides an important contribution to our understanding of a period which has too often been darkened by prejudice and emotion. In addition to studying the military themes, Dr. Townshend examines the delicate relationship between the civil and military authorities. (Oxford Historical Monographs)

1975

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G. V. BENNETT. This study of Anglican Toryism as it attempted to face the politics of the post-Revolution era deals with the High Church movement and the Jacobite aftermath. The study focuses on Francis Atterbury, whose career as leader of the Tory party and later as minister to the Old Pretender is indistinguishable from the history of the Church at that time.

1976

356 pp.; 9 illus.

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ZEWDE GABRE-SELLASSIE. The author shows that Emperor Yohannes IV was the most active figure in the reunification of the Ethiopian Empire during the period 1868-89, resisting threats to the independence of his country from without and the disruptive forces always at work within. The weak and disunited country he inherited became an empire powerful enough to survive in a continent almost entirely colonized. (Oxford Studies in African Affairs)

1975

352 pp.

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*Cover Illustration.* Water color of the betrothal of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy from *De Cronicke van Vlaenderen* (MS 437, fol. 395). Courtesy Stadsbibliotheek Brugge. (See Paula Sutter Fichtner, "Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach," pp. 243–65.)

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# The American Historical Review

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# Dynastic Marriage in Sixteenth-Century Habsburg Diplomacy and Statecraft: An Interdisciplinary Approach

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PAULA SUTTER FICHTNER

SINCE THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY most Western historians have dismissed the court and family practices of European royalty as unworthy of study. Voltaire and the Encyclopedists campaigned relentlessly to shift the interest of scholars away from narrowly dynastic concerns and toward the development of societies and cultures as a whole.<sup>1</sup> Such work has stimulated a more pluralistic view of the forces at work in historical processes, thereby minimizing the significance of rulers and their activities. To investigate "the unimportant details of battles, genealogies, and court pageantry" has been to confess intellectual mediocrity, lack of scholarly integrity, or both.<sup>2</sup> Accounts of sovereign houses have been largely uncritical, particularly when conducted under official or familial auspices. At least one writer has seen them as pandering to the megalomania of a public that likes to imagine itself in the places of kings and queens.<sup>3</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that historians have given little sustained attention to the customs of royalty. Such has been the fate, for example, of dynastic marriage. Indeed, the indifference of a modern researcher to this institution might have received acclaim from colleagues in the sixteenth century. In an age which witnessed the creation of that spectacular matrimonial conglomerate, the Habsburg Empire, some observers denied that such royal intermarriage served any useful and serious purpose at all. Leading humanists found their moral sensibilities offended by the practice and may

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<sup>1</sup> John Brumfitt, *Voltaire Historian* (Oxford, 1958), 105; Eberhard Weis, *Geschichtsschreibung und Staatsauffassung in der französischen Encyclopédie* (Wiesbaden, 1956), 69, 73, 77. Cf. Nelly Noémi Schargo, *History in the Encyclopédie* (New York, 1946), 176–77; Friedrich Engel-Janosi, "Politics and History in the Age of the Enlightenment," *Journal of Politics*, 5 (1943): 366; R. N. Stromberg, "History in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 12 (1951): 301; Günther Pflug, "Die Entwicklung der historischen Methode im 18. Jahrhundert," *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 28 (1954): 455–56.

<sup>2</sup> John Brumfitt, introd. to Voltaire, *The Age of Louis XIV and Other Selected Writings* (New York, 1963), xvii.

<sup>3</sup> Philip Bagby, *Culture and History* (London, 1958), 44–45.

therefore have been unwilling to examine it in detail. Thomas More criticized the impersonal marriage arrangements of his age in his *Utopia*, and his close friend, Erasmus of Rotterdam, was even more censorious in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, which he dedicated to the future Emperor Charles V and later to his brother Ferdinand.<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough, both of these young Habsburgs were the chief beneficiaries of matrimonial alliances contracted by Emperor Frederick III, their great-grandfather, and Maximilian I, their grandfather. At least in part because of these arrangements, the two youths were able to claim sovereignty over a territorial complex that ran from Hungary and Bohemia in the eastern reaches of Europe to Burgundy, Spain, and the Americas in the west.

Nevertheless, considerations both humane and political prompted Erasmus to object to the far-flung royal matches of his time. He deplored the callous treatment of the girls involved in these marriages who were frequently sent to live with total strangers in unfamiliar surroundings. His major objection to the custom, however, was that it failed in what he thought was its basic purpose—the keeping of peace. Though marital agreements often accompanied treaties that ended wars, the level of international hostility had not dropped. The Dutch humanist saw little value in an institution that, in his view, failed to accomplish its main goal. He admitted that such alliances could increase the influence of a prince but did not elaborate on this judgment, possibly because of his distaste for the entire process, possibly because such an opinion was too much a part of the conventional wisdom of his age to require explanation.

Modern historians of Renaissance diplomacy have not devoted much more effort than did Erasmus to analyzing the role of dynastic marriage in contemporary state relations.<sup>5</sup> At least one writer admitted to being mystified by the institution. While he could see that in the Habsburg case succession provisions in marriage agreements led to an enormous expansion of power, such arrangements did not characterize all nuptial contracts. Searching for some other advantage in the custom and finding none, he concluded that sovereigns and their representatives thought such marriages were effective instruments of diplomacy only because they underestimated their opponents!<sup>6</sup>

However, such casualness toward dynastic marriage on the part of modern writers, not to mention Erasmus's belittling of its diplomatic significance, is wholly inconsistent with the general attitude of sixteenth-century rulers who pursued these alliances avidly. Unquestionably, human motivation is not as uniform as many historians appear to believe.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, a disturbing

<sup>4</sup> Thomas More, *Utopia*, in *The Complete Works of Thomas More*, ed. Richard Sylvester (New Haven, 1965), 4: 187, 189, 478, 480; Erasmus, *The Education of a Christian Prince*, tr. Lester K. Born (New York, 1968), 242–43.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, R. A. de Maulde-la Clavière, *La Diplomatie au temps de Machiavel* (1892–93; rpt., Geneva, 1970), 1: 412; Gaston Zeller, *Les Temps modernes de Christoph Colomb à Cromwell*, vol. 2 of Pierre Renouvin, ed., *Histoire des relations internationales* (Paris, 1953), 25; Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (London, 1955), 125.

<sup>6</sup> Isaak Bernays, "Die Diplomatie um 1500," *Historische Zeitschrift*, 138 (1928): 11–12.

<sup>7</sup> For some thoughtful observations on this point, see Robert Waelder, "Psychoanalysis and History: Application of Psychoanalysis to Historiography," in Benjamin Wolman, ed., *The Psychoanalytic Inter-*

anomaly appears when one finds otherwise shrewd and ruthless princes troubling themselves to conform to a custom that a sophisticated contemporary critic saw fulfilling its main purpose badly.

It is, of course, possible to find sixteenth-century Habsburg rationalizations for the practice or to infer them from a variety of situations. At a time when the family's territorial responsibilities were expanding enormously, the production of legitimate heirs was a cardinal function of dynastic marriages. A successor was a visible symbol of authority who could be used as his father's representative throughout the Habsburg possessions.<sup>8</sup> The ruling family was popularly a more acceptable source of officials. Charles V gave voice to this attitude in 1549 when he reminded his son, the future Philip II, that it was his duty to sire offspring who would be a ready supply of royal governors and viceroys. According to the emperor, native populations were not always dependable breeding grounds for such authorities, and, while all his subjects were willing to accept princes, they did not want foreigners.<sup>9</sup> Such unions were regarded as ways of curbing the international influence of a rival state or religious persuasion. In asking Philip II to promote a match between Archduke Charles, Ferdinand's son, and Elizabeth of England, Ferdinand predicted disaster for "our house and our family" if the match did not take place. The kings of both Denmark and France were interested in Elizabeth, thus opening the possibility that either a Protestant or a confirmed enemy of the Habsburgs might eventually rule England.<sup>10</sup> In an age when accurate information from abroad was at a premium, a child at a foreign court could keep one apprised of events there. Ferdinand's daughter Catherine reported to her father regularly about dealings between her husband, King Sigismund Augustus of Poland, and Muscovy without obligating her father to return information and favors as did his native Polish informants. If one were an ambitious prince with multiple territorial responsibilities, it was useful to have a wife whose private resources could be used in meeting one's commitments. Ferdinand received frequent loans from his consort, Anna of Hungary, to further his military ventures against the Turks.<sup>11</sup>

Such rationalizations, however, are not without their weaknesses. All of the aforementioned functions of dynastic marriage, with the exception of continuing a legitimate line of succession, could have been, and sometimes had to be, realized through other means as well. Failing a large family, Charles V did in fact use "foreigners" as viceroys or governors among his subjects. For example, the Netherlander Charles de Lannoy and the Spaniards Pedro

*pretation of History* (New York, 1971), 8-9; Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," in Felix Gilbert and Stephen Graubard, eds., *Historical Studies Today* (New York, 1972), 126.

<sup>8</sup> Ferdinand to Charles, June 29, 1556, in *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V*, ed. Karl Lanz (Leipzig, 1844-46), 3: 705-07.

<sup>9</sup> Karl Brandi, "Berichte und Studien zur Geschichte Karls V," pt. 2, *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, nos. 3-4 (1930): 272.

<sup>10</sup> Ferdinand to Georg von Helfenstein, Mar. 29, 1559, Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv (hereafter HHS), Vienna, Familienakten, carton 21, fasc. 2, fols. 48-49.

<sup>11</sup> Catherine to Ferdinand, Aug. 19, 1563 [?], HHS, Familienkorrespondenz, ser. A, carton 1, fols. 151, 155; Bertold Picard, *Das Gesandtschaftswesen Ostmitteleuropas in der frühen Neuzeit* (Graz, 1967), 154; Karl Oberleitner, "Österreichs Finanzen und Kriegswesen unter Ferdinand I," *Archiv für Kunde Österreichs Geschichtsquellen*, 22 (1860): 80, 92.

Alvarez de Toledo and Ramon de Cardona served as Habsburg viceroys in Naples; a Spaniard, Juan de Vega, was in the same position in Sicily; and Spaniards were used by the emperor as viceroys in Mexico and Peru. Nor could all the children of Habsburg dynastic marriages be equally acceptable in this role. One can hardly imagine Charles employing a son of his arch-enemy, Francis I, as a viceroy in Italy or America, despite the union of the emperor's sister Eleanor with the French king. Informants and ambassadors probably told Ferdinand more than did his somewhat hysterical daughter about negotiations between Sigismund Augustus and the Muscovites, not to mention Polish affairs in general. Ferdinand used a wide variety of sources for loans, not just his wife, to finance his military activities. The English match did not materialize, with the result that Habsburg relations with that state had to be cultivated with other diplomatic devices.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, dealing with the problem of dynastic marriage solely from the perspective of apparent or even announced rationale yields at best partial answers to our inquiry. Given the existence of viable alternatives to the practice and the frequent use of them to accomplish the ends for which matrimonial arrangements were supposedly made, one could legitimately conclude that such matches were only one among several instruments in Habsburg diplomacy and statecraft and therefore endowed with no special significance despite the extraordinary care with which they were arranged. For example, Maximilian I and Charles V's Burgundian advisers debated so long over the proper match for their charge that when Charles became king of Spain in 1516 his marital future had not yet been settled.<sup>13</sup> One is impelled, therefore, to look for some structure underlying the custom of dynastic marriage which, while not ruling out any of the preceding reasons given for it, would account more completely for the importance apparently assigned to the usage by ruling houses.

To answer this question, the work of structural anthropologists and sociologists seems promisingly helpful, if only because both disciplines have analyzed extensively the institutions of kinship, marriage, and the family—all basic building blocks in dynastic politics. Claude Lévi-Strauss has observed that members of complex as well as primitive societies are frequently unable to give satisfactory explanations for their customs.<sup>14</sup> Others concerned with the relationship of history to anthropology have urged historians to use socioanthropological concepts as a way of illuminating the structures that may be beneath the surface of actions and events and that might possibly interconnect them.<sup>15</sup> Such an approach might enable us to understand the relationship of dynastic marriage and sixteenth-century Habsburg diplomacy not

<sup>12</sup> Oberleitner, "Österreichs Finanzen," 80, 92; Picard, *Gesandtschaftswesen Ostmitteleuropas*, 53, 137.

<sup>13</sup> Karl Brandi, *Kaiser Karl V.: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Weltreiches* (7th ed.; Munich, 1964), 41–43.

<sup>14</sup> Claude Lévi-Strauss, "History and Anthropology," in his *Structural Anthropology*, tr. Claire Jacobsen and Brooke Schoepf (New York, 1967), 19.

<sup>15</sup> Ernst Gellner, "Our Current Sense of History," *Survey*, 17 (1971): 24; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, "Anthropology and History," in his *Essays in Social Anthropology* (New York, 1963), 25, 29.



through the inadequate rationalizations of contemporaries but through the nature of the institution itself.

Having elected to go down this road, I must add one methodological note: throughout this study I have used as my chief examples the marriage arrangements concluded by Ferdinand I rather than Charles V because the former had more children, thus providing more documentary material with which to work. I have also used as basic texts not the final contracts but the betrothal agreements made by the negotiating parties. These were the arrangements that were actively concluded by the families of both bride and groom and that committed both houses to the marriage. Down to the Council of Trent, betrothal was the actual marriage contract of canon law, the act by which marriage was begun and came into being.<sup>16</sup> Where appropriate, I have also cited instructions to those participating in negotiating and implementing these engagements in order to understand as clearly as possible the feelings about these practices held by those concerned.

IT IS CLEAR that Ferdinand I's marriage arrangements were closely associated with alliances, peace treaties, and the maintenance of cordial diplomatic relations; and, furthermore, that he quite consciously made this connection.<sup>17</sup> His daughters, Maria and Anna, became the brides of the dukes of Cleves and Bavaria, respectively, as part of a web of alliances through which Charles V hoped to secure the support of both rulers before embarking on the Schmalkaldic Wars. In the case of Cleves, the treaty, which included the marriage, ended a bitter territorial dispute between that prince and the Habsburgs. Sigismund Augustus of Poland agreed to marry Ferdinand's daughter Elizabeth in 1543, as part of a Polish-Habsburg alliance against the Turks and France; the monarch's second union with a Habsburg princess—Elizabeth died in 1545—took place in 1553, four years after a mutual defense pact had been signed between the king and Ferdinand. The wedding of Ferdinand's daughter Catherine and Francis II, the youthful heir in Mantua, followed a long series of mutual political and military favors exchanged between the Gonzagas and the Habsburgs.<sup>18</sup>

The diplomatic significance of dynastic unions for the Habsburgs can be inferred from the family's general marriage pattern over the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries as well. Indeed, a close examination of this pattern and a comparison of it with other marriage systems support the

<sup>16</sup> Rudolph Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung aus dem deutschen und canonischen Recht geschichtlich entwickelt* (Weimar, 1875), 115, 145.

<sup>17</sup> Ferdinand to Georg von Heilfenstein, Jan. 24, 1559, HHS, Familienakten, carton 21, fasc. 2, fol. 5.

<sup>18</sup> On the Habsburg difficulties in Cleves and the solution, see Paul Heidrich, *Der geldrische Erbfolgestreit, 1537-1543* (Kassel, 1896), and Franz Petri, "Landschaftliche und überlandtschaftliche Kräfte im habsburgisch-klevischen Ringen um Geldern und im Frieden von Venlo (1537-1543)," in *Aus Geschichte und Landeskunde: Franz Steinbach zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet* (Bonn, 1960), 92-113. For the Polish alliances, see W. Pocięcha, "Zygmunt (Sigismund) I," in W. F. Reddaway et al., eds., *The Cambridge History of Poland* (Cambridge, 1950), 1: 317, 349-51, and Hans Uebersberger, *Österreich und Russland seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1906), 257-58, 287. On Mantua, consult Leonardo Mazzoldi, *Da Ludovico Secondo a Francesco Secondo*, vol. 2 of *Mantova: La Storia* (Mantua, 1961), 289-319, *passim*.

conclusion that it was diplomatic interests, above all, which both dictated Habsburg nuptial arrangements and served to differentiate them from those of their lesser contemporaries.

The Austrian dynasty's marriages were a variation upon the practice of preferential marriage common to many cultures throughout the world—and by no means exclusively confined to royalty. In such systems, matches are made between two people of a specific status, and, whether they are conceived as such or not, they tend to operate as alliances between the groups involved in the marriage. Looked at either in a cross-cultural perspective or within the framework of contemporary Austrian marital customs, the Habsburg system was characterized by a strikingly diminished degree of randomness over an extended period of time. In contrast to the Ramah Navaho preferential marriage, for example, where marital alliances tend to disperse throughout the whole group over three or four generations, and unlike their Austrian subjects, noble and non-noble alike, whose unions were also comparatively haphazard, the Habsburgs were remarkably limited in their selection of partners even given the restricted class from which their choices could be made.<sup>19</sup>

Information on the Austrian peasantry and petty bourgeoisie for the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries is difficult to obtain, and where it is available, it is frequently incomplete. The lower one moves down the social scale, the more irregular the reporting of family names of wives becomes. However, out of the seventeen marriages recorded with family names of both partners in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for the Styrian peasant family of Hollinger in Weng, no union took place between them and any other single family more than once.<sup>20</sup> The Kurz family, millers in Upper Austria, displayed the same lack of selectivity. Fourteen out of twenty-one marriages in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—for which names of both partners are available—indicate there were no instances of Kurz inter-marriage with another family more than once.<sup>21</sup> As one moves into the ranks of the petty nobility, free knights, and ennobled civil officials, the tendency of families to marry into one another repeatedly begins to appear. Of the fourteen houses examined—reporting a total of 311 unions during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries—seventeen marriages, or five per cent, involved one family marrying into another more than once.<sup>22</sup> Of houses that produced counts, princes, and Habsburg field marshals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as the Katzianers, Cobenzls, Sauers, and the

<sup>19</sup> Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Statistical Marriage Preferences of the Ramah Navaho," *American Anthropologist*, 61 (1959): 474, 489.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich Fiedler, "Bauern-Adel," *Jahrbuch der k.k. heraldischen Gesellschaft "Adler,"* n.s. 18 (1908): 97–110.

<sup>21</sup> Gerhard Gessner, ed., *Österreichische Familienarchiv* (Neustadt an der Aich, 1959–69), 3: 95–103.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 216–20 and 3: 54–55, 153–58; *Genealogisches Taschenbuch der adeligen Häuser* (Brünn, 1893), 18: 283–90; Albert Schlippenbach, "Die Praunfalk'sche Familien-Bibel," *Jahrbuch "Adler,"* n.s. 10 (1900): 66–78; Sigmund Kripp, "Die Kripp von Freudeneck und ihre Familienchronik," *ibid.*, 121–92, and "Die Kripp von Prunberg," *ibid.*, 22 (1912): 1–150; Karl Ausserer, "Die Herren von Schloss und Gericht Castelcorno," *ibid.*, 21 (1911): 5–75; Anton von Pantz, "Die Gewerken im Bannkreise des steirischen Erzberges," *ibid.*, 27–28 (1917–18): 1–396. Percentages are to the nearest round number.

numerous lines of the Lambergs and Puchheims, the tendency toward repeated intermarriage among a restricted number of families becomes somewhat more marked. Out of 545 marriages reported for these names, seventy-two, or thirteen per cent, were marriages between the same two families beyond a single generation.<sup>23</sup>

In ruling dynasties, however, the percentage of repetition is genuinely striking. Marrying into their own cadet lines as well as outside of them, the Saxon Wettins, with fifty marriages from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, chose the same families and their associated secondary members forty-two times, or eighty-four per cent of their total marriages. Following the same pattern, the Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg, from about the middle of the fifteenth to the close of the seventeenth centuries, married into the same families fifty-one times, or seventy-two per cent of their seventy marriages. The Austrian Habsburgs show the same heightened selectivity. Of the fifty-seven marriages concluded by the dynasty from the reign of Frederick III through that of Leopold I—again roughly from the middle of the fifteenth century through the end of the seventeenth—forty-two, or seventy-three per cent, took place with the ruling houses of Portugal, Spain, Mantua, Tuscany, France, Poland, and Bavaria. Of these, twenty-four unions, or forty-two per cent, were with the sovereign houses of Poland, Spain, and Bavaria. If one compares the percentage of marital repetition shown by these three ruling houses with that of those three Austrian noble families found in this study to display the highest percentage of the same pattern, the difference between the two groups is still very wide.<sup>24</sup>

Such a narrow range of choice over several generations exhibited by the Habsburgs—and their royal colleagues—suggests that their marriage policies were shaped by considerations other than those of simple preferential association within a select group. Genealogical tables show that from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries the Austrian dynasty had more Polish marriages than French ones and no unions with England or with German ruling houses other than the Wittelsbachs, even when all those sovereigns were Catholic. Turning back to the Middle Ages for a moment, one finds that there were no Habsburg marriages into the Portuguese royal family from the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth and, down to the end of the

<sup>23</sup> Johann Baptist Witting, "Beiträge zur Genealogie des krainischen Adels," *Jahrbuch "Adler,"* n.s. 4 (1894): 89–146 and n.s. 5–6 (1895–96): 162–264.

<sup>24</sup> *Festschrift zur 800jährigen Jubelfeier des Hauses Wettin* (Dresden, 1889), 36–41; Julius Grossman, *Genealogie des Gesamthauses Hohenzollern* (Berlin, 1905), 13–32; Michel Dugast Rouillé, *Les Maisons Souveraines de l'Autriche* (n.p., 1967), 79–135; Witting, "Beiträge zur Genealogie des krainischen Adels," *Jahrbuch "Adler,"* n.s. 4 (1894): 119–24 and 5–6 (1895–96): 177–82, 256–60. It is perhaps of some interest to note in passing that such patterns may not be characteristic of Germanic areas alone. With a total of thirty marriages from approximately 1400 to 1589, the Valois kings of France married into the same families twenty-four times, or eighty per cent of their total number of unions. Over a similar period of time, this contrasts sharply with the practices of influential and important noble houses such as the d'Albrets and the de Rohans, who were *pairs*, or even the Bourbons as princes of the blood. Out of fifty marriages concluded by these three houses, nineteen, or thirty-two per cent, represented repeated intermarriage into the same families. W. K. Prinz von Isenburg, *Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten* (Marburg, 1953), vol. 2, tables 16, 17; and de la Chenay-Desbois et Badier, *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse de la France* (3d ed.; Paris, 1866), vol. 1, cols. 279–81; vol. 3, cols. 753–58; vol. 8, cols. 300–04.

fifteenth, none with the heirs of the various Spanish Crowns or their sibs. In view of the aforementioned association of these marriages with treaties of peace and friendship, one can argue that the consistency of Habsburg marital targets derived from the constancy of their diplomatic spheres of interest in which

TABLE I. THE FREQUENCY OF INTERMARRIAGE AMONG AUSTRIAN UPPER NOBILITY AS COMPARED WITH GERMAN SOVEREIGN DYNASTIES

	<i>Family</i>	<i>Number of Marriages</i>	<i>Number of Repeated Intermarriages</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Average Percentage</i>
<i>Upper Nobility</i>	Katzianer	42	8	19	
	Lamberg	55	12	22	
	(princely)				
	Sauer	40	9	23	
	Total	137	29		22
<i>Sovereign Dynasties</i>	Wettin	50	42	84	
	Hohenzollern	70	51	72	
	Habsburg	57	42	73	
	Total	177	135		76

Poland, Bavaria, and Spain played major roles over an extended period of time, and England and the other German states more minor ones. Conversely, the absence of such a high degree of repeated intermarriage among other orders of society in early modern Austria signals the lack of such concerns on the part of these groups. Having established that Habsburg dynastic marriages were matters of state to the degree that the family's entire preferential range was prescribed by them, one is thus logically returned to the question of what it was in marriage that made it an instrument of international relations. It is here that the work of the anthropologists is especially suggestive.

TAKING THEIR DEPARTURE from Marcel Mauss's seminal *Essai sur le don* (1906), Lévi-Strauss and Robin Fox have concluded that such marital unions are one of the ways in which the parties to an agreement express, through mutual exchange of gifts, the rule of reciprocity that lies beneath all alliances. Without a foundation in joint obligation, treaties can be neither made nor maintained. Fox contends, although briefly, that this process is operative in international relations as well as in familial and tribal ones. The origins of the use of marriage to express these mutual commitments are obscure. One suggestion is that primitive tribes may have associated tribal exogamy with more general alliances because of the dependence of these groups upon one another for the marriage partners without which neither could have survived. Fox asserts that the royal dynastic alliances of Europe are a continuation of this practice, though he does not present evidence to support this claim. In any case, the observance of local exogamy among the warriors who would



later become Europe's aristocracy and royalty seems to have been customary by the tenth century if not earlier.<sup>25</sup>

The significant element in this process of reciprocal exchange is less the marriage itself than the giving and accepting of gifts by which both sides incur obligations to one another. Mauss described this system among primitive tribes as consisting of the obligation to give, the obligation to receive, and the obligation to return.<sup>26</sup> The marriage is both the setting for the exchange and part of the act of exchange itself. In Germanic custom these prestations were elaborations of the original bride price paid by the groom and various contributions to the marriage by the girl's father. Though there seems to have been some fusion of these elements in the marriages Ferdinand arranged for his children, by and large the terms for these gifts retained their original and distinctive meanings. The bride brought with her into the marriage a *Heiratsgut* for the use of her husband or his family, a *Heimsteuer*, a gift by the bride's father directly to her in return for her renunciation of any claims she had to her father's estate, and the *Besserung*, an increment upon the *Heimsteuer*. Where the latter two gifts are mentioned in the marital unions concluded by Ferdinand, they are treated as one donation.<sup>27</sup>

The gifts of the groom and his family were also three in number: the *Wiederlegung*, at first given either to the bride or her family, but by the sixteenth century only to the bride; the *Wittum*, presented by the husband from his family territories or possessions to the bride for her maintenance throughout her life; and the *Morgengabe*, paid upon consummation of the marriage by the husband to his wife in reward for her virginity. To these elements were added the person of the bride herself, her capacity to bear potential heirs, and promises on the part of both bride and groom that limited or nullified any claims each could make on the territories of their respective in-laws.<sup>28</sup> On an international level this pattern of gift, countergift, and reciprocal countergift appears in the exchange of marriage letters, a *Heiratsbrief*, sent by the heads of the two states whose children were involved in the marriage and a *Schuldbrief* sent subsequently by the father of the bride alone.<sup>29</sup> Table 2 illustrates the system.

<sup>25</sup> Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, tr. Ian Cunnison (London, 1969); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté* (Paris, 1949), 185, 592, 594; Robin Fox, *Kinship and Marriage: An Anthropological Perspective* (Harmondsworth, 1967), 202-03, 176, 178-79; Robert Anderson, *Traditional Europe: A Study in Anthropology and History* (Belmont, Calif., 1971), 84.

<sup>26</sup> Mauss, *Gift*, 18, 37; see also Lévi-Strauss, *Structures élémentaires*, 81.

<sup>27</sup> Rudolf Huebner, *A History of German Private Law*, tr. F. S. Philbrick (Boston, 1918), 623-26. The following sets of betrothal documents have been used in this analysis: "Vermählung der Erzherzogin Anna . . . mit Herzog Albrecht von Bayern" (hereafter "Anna . . . Albrecht"), HHS, Familienakten, carton 20, fols. 29-33, 39, 47-50; ". . . Vermählung Erzherzogin Maria mit Herzog Wilhelm von Cleves" (hereafter "Maria . . . Wilhelm"), *ibid.*, fols. 1-11, 25-31, 35-41; ". . . Heyrathstractats zwischen Catharina . . . und Franciscum Herzogen zu Mantua" (hereafter "Catharina . . . Franciscum"), *ibid.*, fols. 2-5, 8, 11-12, 19, 23-24, 31-32; ". . . Catharina mit König Sigismund August [*sic*] von Polen" (hereafter "Catharina . . . Sigismund August"), *ibid.*, fols. 4, 14, 45-51, 55.

<sup>28</sup> On the role of the bride in marital exchange, see J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong, *Lévi-Strauss's Theory on Kinship and Marriage* (Leiden, 1952), 11.

<sup>29</sup> A separate *Schuldbrief* is missing from the negotiations for the marriage of Catherine and Sigismund Augustus. Rather, it is incorporated into the end of the *Heiratsbrief*. "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 50.

TABLE 2. THE PATTERN OF GIFT, COUNTERGIFT, AND RECIPROCAL COUNTERGIFT

$a$  = father of bride  
 $b$  = bride  
 $c$  = groom  
 $d$  = groom's family

	<i>Personal</i>		<i>Familial</i>		<i>State*</i>
	$a$ and $b$	$b$ and $c$	$a$ and $c$	$b$ and $d$	$a$ and $d$
<i>Gift</i>	$a \rightarrow b$ <i>Heiratsgut</i>	$c \rightarrow b$ usufruct of <i>Wiederlegung</i>	$a \rightarrow c$ bride	$b \rightarrow d$ potential heirs	$a \rightarrow d$ <i>Heiratsbrief</i>
<i>Countergift</i>	$b \rightarrow a$ renunciation of immediate rights in paternal estate	$b \rightarrow c$ virginity	$c \rightarrow a$ confirmation of bride's renunciation of rights in paternal estate	$d \rightarrow b$ <i>Wittum</i>	$d \rightarrow a$ <i>Heiratsbrief</i>
<i>Reciprocal Countergift</i>	$a \rightarrow b$ <i>Heimsteuer</i> and <i>Besserung</i>	$c \rightarrow b$ <i>Morgengabe</i>	$a \rightarrow c$ usufruct of <i>Heiratsgut</i>	$b \rightarrow d$ promise to renounce <i>Wittum</i> on remarriage	$a \rightarrow d$ <i>Schuldbrief</i>

\* Since all the states studied here are dynastic ones, heads of sovereign families and heads of governments are identical. In Ferdinand's negotiations the groom, rather than representatives of his house, frequently directed his own marital affairs. In such situations his position was equivalent to Ferdinand's, that is, chief political figure in his lands as well as head of his dynasty.

The marriages Ferdinand negotiated for his daughters in Cleves and Bavaria followed this pattern exactly with the exception that the term *Wittum* seems to have dropped out of use to be replaced by *Widemsitz*. In the Polish and Mantuan agreements there is no mention of a *Heimsteuer* and *Besserung*, only of a *Heiratsgut*, or *dos* as it is called in the Mantuan documents, which are in Latin. However, whether dealing in terms of a *Heiratsgut*, *Heimsteuer*, and *Besserung*, or merely a *Heiratsgut*, the total amount of money involved on Ferdinand's part was 100,000 gulden. One can only assume that since the brides and their husbands in all four cases were expected to renounce any territorial claims in the Habsburg lands as long as there were no male heirs to these, the enlargement of the *Heiratsgut* in the cases of Poland and Mantua could only have been due to the silent addition of the *Heimsteuer* and *Besserung*. The Mantuan agreement, concluded in the minorities of both bride and groom and therefore unusually sketchy, unfortunately makes no mention of the fate of the *dos*. Since, however, Ferdinand said that this gift served the same function as did the *Heiratsgut* in the Polish marriage, which follows the paradigm closely, one can justifiably conclude that the Mantuan union did so as well.<sup>30</sup>

The closeness with which the elements *a*, *b*, *c*, and *d* in table 2 interlock with one another through their various exchange relationships can perhaps be better appreciated by examining table 3.

TABLE 3. THE INTERLOCKING OF RELATIONSHIPS  
SYMBOLIZED BY THE EXCHANGE OF GIFTS

	<i>a</i> = father of the bride <i>b</i> = bride	<i>c</i> = groom <i>d</i> = groom's family		
	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>a</i>	—	X	X	X
<i>b</i>	X	—	X	X
<i>c</i>	X	X	—	—*
<i>d</i>	X	X	—	—

\* The groom was either actual or potential head of the state and lands of his family in all Ferdinand's marital negotiations.

In view of Lévi-Strauss's remarks about peoples' lack of awareness of the underlying structure of their own customs, it is not surprising that Ferdinand was oblivious to the levels upon which this exchange of gifts took place. He seemed, however, to sense clearly the gift and obligatory response pattern underlying these agreements. In betrothing his daughter Anna to the future Albrecht V of Bavaria, he indicated unambiguously that he understood the *Wiederlegung* to be a response to his own contributions by requesting that Duke William, who was negotiating in Albrecht's name, present a sum that

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 46.

exactly matched Ferdinand's offer.<sup>31</sup> An even more compelling illustration of the understanding that obligatory returns were entailed in these gifts appears in Ferdinand's private instructions to his second son, also Ferdinand by name, who represented his house at the nuptials between his sister Catherine and Francis II, duke of Mantua. The father directed the young man to present the duke's advisers with the letter or *Schuldbrief* in which Ferdinand obligated himself and his heirs to pay Catherine's wedding gift. For this promise he asked his son to demand a renunciation from Catherine of any hereditary rights in the Habsburg lands and recognition of such a renunciation from Francis. He noted that the dukes of Cleves and Bavaria had done this in similar circumstances.<sup>32</sup>

In support of his contention that this exchange of gifts was done in a spirit of cooperation rather than in order to secure economic advantage, Lévi-Strauss remarks that the contributions offered by both sides were frequently equal. Thus the parties involved in negotiations would leave them no richer than they were before. Though one cannot deny that there was a strong element of cold calculation in Ferdinand's agreements, this pattern of matching prestations exactly, or at least balancing off disadvantages, emerges from them as well.<sup>33</sup> The most obvious instance of this is in the relationship of the *Heiratsgut* on the one hand and the *Wiederlegung* on the other. Both sides usually committed themselves to giving one another the same amount of money—50,000 to 100,000 gulden. That the formalities of this ritual of exchange could also encompass political advantage is well illustrated by Ferdinand's willingness to absolve Elizabeth I of England from paying her own dowry if she would only agree that his son, Archduke Charles, could succeed to the English throne upon her death.<sup>34</sup>

For all this careful balancing and counterbalancing of gifts, however, it would appear from a superficial examination of these agreements that the groom and his family would eventually have paid far more into the marriage than the relatives of his wife. Depending on the longevity of the bride, the territories and incomes assigned for her support in her husband's lands could have brought her exceptionally large sums of money. In a couple of instances

<sup>31</sup> "Und die obangezaigten fünffzig tausendt gulden heuratguet, sollen and wellen wir Herzog Wilhelm, anstat und in Namen obbemeltes unsers Sones Herzog Albrechten, mit funfzig [*sic*] tausendt gulden reinisch . . . weerung widerlegen." "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 30. A similar sense of obligatory response appears in a passage of an agreement negotiated by Granvelle, Charles V's secretary of state, betrothing Ferdinand's daughter Catherine to Duke Francis II of Mantua: "Quod dotem recipiendo prefatus . . . Franciscus dux eam assignabit in emptionem ditionum seu alioris certoris imobilium honoris in ducatu Mantue." "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 3.

<sup>32</sup> "Inen [Francis II's advisers] auch damit der Ro. Khun. Mt. verfertigte obligation umb das heiratguet zuestellen, und vleiss furwennden soliche renuntiation [*sic*] gegen beruerter obligation gleich yezo zuerlangen denmassen dann baide fursstin von Baiern und Julich mit gunnst, willen und ratification zuer Egemahl auf dergleichen Schuldtbrief, auch alsbaldt nach beschehnem beischlauff erstattet haben." Ferdinand's instructions to Archduke Ferdinand, Sept. 14, 1549, in "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 12. For the *Schuldbrief* and the letters of renunciation, see *ibid.*, fols. 8, 23–24.

<sup>33</sup> Lévi-Strauss, *Structures élémentaires*, 68. For further observations of mutual canceling of disadvantages in marriage negotiations, see Walter Goode, "Comment on Marriage," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3 (1961): 209.

<sup>34</sup> "A dote nihil erit agendum si filio nostro in regno succedendi spes facta fuerit." Ferdinand to Georg von Hellenstein, Oct. 16, 1559, HHS, Familienakten, carton 21, fasc. 3, fol. 75.

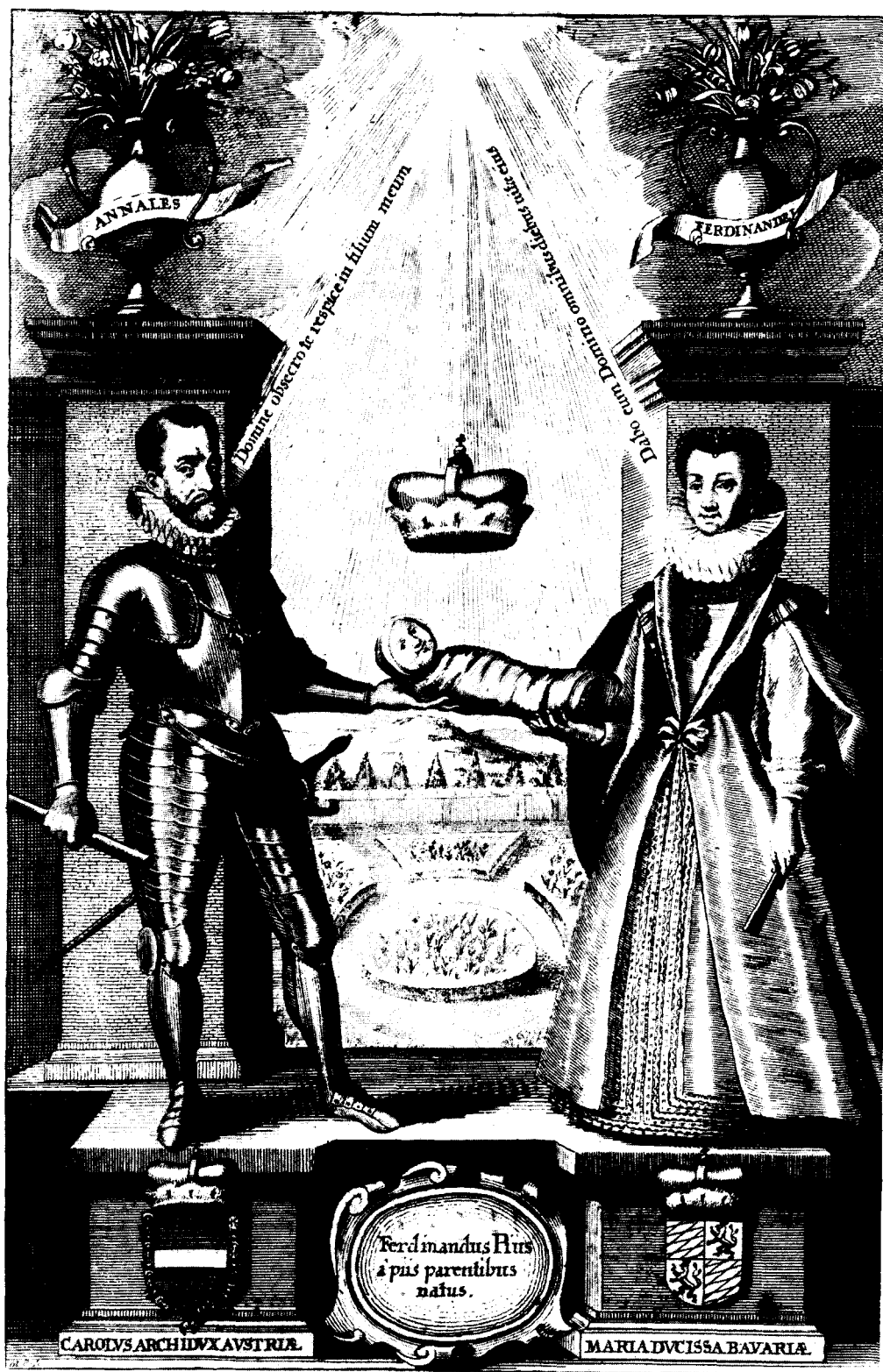


Fig. 1. A potential gift becomes a real one. Frontispiece from Franz Christoph Khevenhueller, *Annales Ferdinandi oder wahrhafftige Beschreibung Kayseris Ferdinandi des Andern* (Leipzig, 1721–23). Courtesy New York Public Library.



studied, the groom's family promised to provide the woman with lands and privileges, the total value of which approximated that of all the monetary gifts contributed by both families.<sup>35</sup> Upon close study, however, this seeming imbalance to the disadvantage of the groom and his family may not have been that at all. Lévi-Strauss has observed that counter gifts may far exceed the original prestations, thus opening up the possibility of even greater returns to come.<sup>36</sup> Two opportunities for augmented future gifts come to mind in the case of Ferdinand's negotiations for his daughters. If the groom were fortunate, his bride would be able to realize the potential she brought with her into the marriage and provide him and his house with future heirs. This was a condition of incalculable importance in view of the hereditary character of rule in all the states to which Ferdinand allied his daughters. If the husband were doubly lucky, however, and the Habsburg male line should die out, his wife would have a claim to her father's patrimony according to all the agreements Ferdinand formulated for his daughters.<sup>37</sup>

Thus the betrothals arranged by Ferdinand strictly followed the pattern of reciprocal gift giving noted by anthropologists in such situations and were closely associated with alliances or peace treaties as well. It is of crucial importance for this argument to note that in the case of one Habsburg marriage where Ferdinand was not interested in encouraging political or military alliance, the element of bifamilial exchange by means of the union was absent. In 1557 Ferdinand's son, Archduke Ferdinand, secretly wed Philippina Welser, daughter of the Augsburg merchant patrician. Stunned to hear that the young prince had taken a wife so beneath his status, Ferdinand, as head of his house, forced the couple to sign a document *ex post facto* in 1561 whereby they begged his forgiveness and agreed that none of their children would have any rights in the Habsburg patrimony unless the male line should die out. Ferdinand gave nothing to the couple other than the promise of some income for their offspring. Most significant, no mention was made of any contribution to the pair from the Welsers.<sup>38</sup>

But, like Erasmus, one could question the importance or weight of such gestures of reciprocal obligation in treaties of peace and friendship in view of the frequency with which these collapsed in the sixteenth century. The best examples of this in Ferdinand's case are the results of his alliances with Poland. The first of these, which included a marriage agreement betrothing Ferdinand's daughter Elizabeth to Prince Sigismund Augustus, dissolved acrimoniously in 1545. The occasion for the disagreement was the refusal of the Habsburgs, who as Holy Roman emperors technically controlled Milan as a fief, to recognize the hereditary rights claimed by the Polish queen, Bona Sforza, in the Italian city of her origin. Ferdinand's consistently unfriendly attitude toward Bona and King Sigismund I's daughter Isabella, who was the

<sup>35</sup> "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 7; "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 46-47.

<sup>36</sup> Lévi-Strauss, *Structures élémentaires*, 67.

<sup>37</sup> "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 49; "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 4; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 32; "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 30.

<sup>38</sup> Franz Ferdinand von Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I* (Vienna, 1831-38), 9: 735-40.



widow of the Habsburg rival for the Hungarian Crown, John Zapolya, also heightened the discord. Such treatment of his mother and sister, however, did not prevent Sigismund Augustus, when he came to power, from re-establishing a treaty with the Habsburgs when he saw that it was to his advantage to do so. His first and second wives having died, he was able to include yet another marriage alliance in the pact.<sup>39</sup>

On the surface of this situation one would probably concur with Erasmus that dynastic marriages not only failed to keep peace but positively exacerbated hostilities. Yet when Ferdinand himself spoke of the purpose of these marriages, he did not describe them as instruments of perpetual peace. Rather, he represented them simply as an adjunct to the strengthening of cordial relations, presumably those embodied in the treaties to which these marriages were a part. The union of Sigismund Augustus and his daughter Catherine was to make Polish-Habsburg friendship "still stronger." The marriage between Archduchess Anna and the future Albrecht V of Bavaria was for "an augmenting and strengthening of friendship."<sup>40</sup> Thus, while such unions were expected to aid in knitting friendships together, they were not supposed to remove every conceivable difficulty that could arise among the partners to the wider alliance. If one works from the premise that these marriages and the rituals of exchange associated with them furnished only the occasion and means for expressions of reciprocal obligation essential to the formation of any alliance, the problem of the future integrity of the agreement becomes a secondary issue, as it seems to have been with Ferdinand. Anthropologists have observed that intergroup treaties continually dissolve because of unanticipated antagonisms, misunderstandings of provisions, and countless other snags. Yet such disruptions are not signs that the structure of reciprocity which lies at the core of all alliance systems has itself been broken. Such difficulties merely indicate that the arrangements designed to implement these pacts have been inadequate.<sup>41</sup>

Thus, Erasmus to the contrary, to dismiss marriage as a meaningful device in treaties because treaties disintegrate is to misinterpret the position of marriage in these agreements. Following the theory I have elaborated, I would explain the breakdown of Habsburg-Polish relations and their subsequent re-establishment accompanied by a dynastic marriage in the following way: Ferdinand's unwillingness to gratify Bona Sforza's ambitions in Milan indicated not that a marital union was incapable of preserving the alliance but that the treaty as a whole was inadequate to meet the changing conditions of Polish-Habsburg relations. The remaining possibilities were that the alliance be dropped or that it be readapted. Both sides chose the latter alternative. In reconstituting the agreement, however, appropriate expressions of the reciprocity necessary to conclude the treaty, of which mar-

<sup>39</sup> Pociecha, "Zygmunt I," and P. Fox, "The Reformation in Poland," in *Cambridge History of Poland*, 1: 317-18, 349-51; Uebersberger, *Österreich und Russland*, 255-57.

<sup>40</sup> "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 45; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 29.

<sup>41</sup> Lévi-Strauss, *Structures élémentaires*, 96, 102; Fox, *Kinship and Marriage*, 23.

riage was one, again had to be reactivated. Such unions did not ensure adherence to provisions in any agreement but were among the visible signs of the reciprocal commitment through exchange that had been made by one participant to the other. Such an interpretation would at least help to explain why such arrangements were so consistently a part of alliance systems and why rulers such as the Habsburgs so regularly, willingly, and carefully made them.

But while embodying these basic structural relationships familiar to anthropologists, the marital alliances formed by Ferdinand I appeared at single points in time and within the context of activities that had very specific rather than universal purposes. Ferdinand was in the process of entrenching himself and his numerous children in a far-flung network of territorial states to assure his family of extensive influence throughout the European continent. All this took place after his own territorial holdings had expanded from their original Austrian base to include the kingdoms of Hungary, Bohemia, and, to the southeast, Croatia. In short, he had acquired the beginnings of an empire. To be sure, it was not as spectacular a creation as that of his brother Charles, but the Central and East European conglomerate that Ferdinand assembled and defended remained under Habsburg control far longer than did Spain and her assorted possessions. Eduard Fueter, among others, has pointed out that sheer accident contributed heavily to the Habsburg position in Spain.<sup>42</sup> Ferdinand of Aragon had not contracted a union between his daughter Juana and Philip, son of Emperor Maximilian, in order to provide heirs to the Spanish Crowns, although this was the result. But does this mean that such marriages had no integral relationship to the establishment of empires at all?

One can always say, especially with the Habsburgs, that only through marriages could the family have laid claim to the lands they eventually acquired. While there is merit to this argument, it is still one derived from the occasional results of these arrangements, as in the Spanish case, rather than from an examination of the total content of these agreements and their possible relationship to the process of empire building. It also drastically simplifies the range of concerns evidently involved in such marriage policies. Succession provisions were only a part of all the negotiations which Ferdinand carried on, and sometimes the contingencies which would activate them were so remote that territorial aggrandizement could hardly have been the prime interest of any of the signatories.<sup>43</sup> The emphasis on geographical extension also overlooks important implications of the repetitious quality, mentioned earlier, of Habsburg marriages over several generations. Such a pattern

<sup>42</sup> Eduard Fueter, *Geschichte des europäischen Staatensystems von 1492–1559* (Munich, 1919), 96.

<sup>43</sup> There were, of course, cases in which marriage negotiations were pursued in the hope of acquiring new crowns. Through the union with Ferdinand's daughter Anna, the Bavarian Wittelsbachs hoped to acquire some part of the Habsburg patrimony. Ferdinand himself contemplated a marriage between his sister Mary and the king of Scotland largely because the latter had a claim to the English throne, and it appeared unlikely that Henry VIII would have any legitimate heirs. Heinrich Lutz, "Das konfessionelle Zeitalter: Die Herzöge Wilhelm IV und Albrecht V," in Max Spindler, ed., *Handbuch der bayerischen Geschichte* (Munich, 1966), 2: 328; Ferdinand's instructions to Joseph von Lamberg, June 29, 1528, in *Die Korrespondenz Ferdinands I*, ed. Wilhelm Bauer and Robert Lacroix (Vienna, 1938), 253.

suggests that the function of these unions in empire building may not have been primarily to pave the way for new acquisitions but to encourage the friendly relations with neighboring states necessary to protect and preserve earlier territorial gains. Any claims to titles in these areas could have been seen as a way of maintaining one's present holdings rather than simply a way of controlling more land. Certainly Ferdinand viewed his winning of Hungary in such terms, and figures would suggest that his ancestors and successors felt the same way.<sup>44</sup> It is interesting to note, for example, that from the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, when the Austrian lands had no contiguous borders with Poland, out of a total of sixty-one Habsburg marriages, only two—or four per cent—were with members of the ruling dynasty in Poland. After Habsburg acquisition of Hungary and Bohemia, both of which were immediately adjacent to Poland, eight out of twenty-seven marriages—or approximately thirty per cent—were with the various families ruling in Cracow and, later, Warsaw. Finally, by assigning such importance to territorial expansion in the establishment of empires, one minimizes questions of control and management of these conglomerates. Yet these concerns are as fundamental to the existence of any imperial structure as is size. It would seem, then, that if dynastic marriage significantly influenced the development of empires, it was not exclusively in the area of geographical growth but also in matters that were essentially domestic in scope.

Perhaps the most ambitious and certainly one of the more suggestive treatments of the creation and direction of imperial structures has been S. N. Eisenstadt's *Political System of Empires*. The Israeli sociologist has compared the institutional composition of a diverse group of historical empires, among which are the Habsburg territories in both Western and Eastern Europe. He finds a noteworthy similarity in policies implemented by the heads of all these states in that each of them attempted to dominate the process of political decision making through centralization of their governments and administrations. The chief victims in this process were various institutions in their territories of an aristocratic, tribal, or patrician nature.<sup>45</sup>

Eisenstadt stresses the efforts of rulers in this process to bring under their command the goods, money, and state property that would free them from the restraints of "ascriptive" bodies such as the estates found throughout Europe.<sup>46</sup> Such procedures were certainly characteristic of Ferdinand, who consistently attempted to circumvent restrictions that representative assemblies in his territories exercised over him.<sup>47</sup> Eisenstadt emphasizes the role played by the control and direction of social stratification in the creation and man-

<sup>44</sup> Ferdinand to Charles, Sept. 22, 1526, and Ferdinand to Margaret, Nov. 24, 1526, in *Korrespondenz Ferdinands I.* 461, 494.

<sup>45</sup> S. N. Eisenstadt, *The Political System of Empires* (New York, 1969), 11, vii-viii. His discussion of the Habsburgs in Central and Eastern Europe concentrates chiefly on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>47</sup> Paula Sutter Fichtner, "Dynasticism and Its Limitations: The Habsburgs in Hungary, 1542," *East European Quarterly*, 4 (1971): 389, and Fichtner, "When Brothers Agree: Bohemia, the Habsburgs, and the Schmalkaldic Wars, 1546-1547," *Austrian History Yearbook* (1975-76), forthcoming.

agement of empires, and it is here that his analysis impinges directly upon the concern of this article. It is his conclusion that by becoming the chief sources of "social prestige," rulers were increasingly able to supervise access routes to political power and to open and close them at will.<sup>48</sup> As a necessary concomitant of these endeavors, sovereigns attempted to formalize status systems through monopoly of titles and control of political office.<sup>49</sup>

Marriage in general and dynastic marriage in particular appear to conduce toward all these ends. Students of marriage and the family agree that these institutions tend to reflect and reinforce divisions peculiar to any society. Marriage is the instrument which sets the rules governing the relationship that will produce the family, defines the personnel that will participate in that relationship, and establishes behavior and obligations to be current in it. The higher the reach of society, the more important and restrictive matrimonial ranges become, since at these levels, questions beyond a simple choice of partners are at stake. These matters are especially significant for the extended family, of which the dynastic organization is an example, where a sense of common familial purpose is strong and where the group exercises broad social controls over the child.<sup>50</sup> From an anthropological point of view, the Habsburg version of the extended family may be described as one in which a form of patrilocal residence prevailed but where lines of descent had both bilateral and unilateral features. That is to say, brides left their own families upon marriage to take up residence either near the parents of their husbands or in lands that had come to their husbands through the latter's fathers. Incorporation of the child into a kinship group came through the line of the father, and it was from him that children received their names, titles, and the bulk of their property. The mother, however, could transfer certain personal holdings to her children that could be of considerable material advantage to her offspring, though the more children she had, the more such gains would be diluted.<sup>51</sup> Let us see, then, if the marital agreements negotiated within such a kinship system by Ferdinand I for some of his children conduced to the social stratification that Eisenstadt claims to have been of such significance in the rule of the empires he studied.

<sup>48</sup> Eisenstadt, *Political System of Empires*, 132. Eisenstadt at one point contends that institutions such as royal families impeded this consolidation of resources since traditional groups sometimes opposed these policies with the claim that such measures served only to enhance the position of the ruler and his dynasty. Ferdinand encountered this attitude in the German diet when members of that body sought to justify their refusal or grudging willingness to participate in the Habsburg-organized defense of Eastern Europe against the Turks. *Ibid.*, 23; A. von Kluckhohn and A. Wrede, eds., *Deutsche Reichstagsakten* (Gotha, 1893-1905), vol. 4, pt. 1, p. 614; Johannes Kühn, *Die Geschichte des Speyerer Reichstags 1529* (Leipzig, 1929), 14, 169-70. However, Eisenstadt seems to have overlooked the possibility that kinship relations can further as well as hinder political consolidation. See Georges Balandier, *Anthropologie politique* (Paris, 1967), 39, 61. Ferdinand was well aware of the advantages his familial connections gave him and exploited them thoroughly to realize his political objectives. The Magyar prelates and noblemen who chose him king of Hungary did so largely in the hope that the far larger resources of his brother, the Emperor Charles, would be brought to bear in the Hungarian struggle against Ottoman expansion. Fichtner, "Dynasticism and Its Limitations," 389.

<sup>49</sup> Eisenstadt, *Political System of Empires*, xxiv.

<sup>50</sup> Walter Goode, *Die Struktur der Familie* (Cologne, 1960), 36, 39-40, 48; George Murdock, *Social Structures* (New York, 1960), 1.

<sup>51</sup> Murdock, *Social Structures*, 16, 33, 44, 59; Raymond Firth, *We, the Tikopia* (2d ed.; London, 1957), 345, 596.

VIEWED THROUGH THE EYES of sociologists and anthropologists, there are a number of ways in which marriage arrangements serve as instruments of social differentiation. Control over, and limitation of, bearing of coats of arms and titles has been proposed as a symbolic but nevertheless important means of maintaining boundaries between groups and classes and solidarity within them.<sup>52</sup> Ferdinand made certain that disposition of this matter was clearly stated in negotiations where the question arose, as it did in the marriage of Archduke Ferdinand and Philippina Welser. He ordered the young couple to agree that no child of theirs would bear a coat of arms with any Habsburg royal or princely insignia on it.<sup>53</sup>

Open use of these arrangements to make status classification precise, thereby preserving the exclusiveness of a certain ruling group, is fairly easy to document. Assuring control over office has been described as one of the most direct ways to indicate possession of both political power and of a special position in the hierarchy affected by that power.<sup>54</sup> Both Ferdinand and Charles V desired and received assurances that their daughters would be married to men whose official position was such as to fit them to be the husbands of princesses. In the Bavarian negotiations, Ferdinand asked for a guarantee that after his death his future son-in-law would be the single reigning ruler in Bavaria, where there had been a long history of Wittelsbach family factionalism. In Mantua, where a regency was governing in the name of Duke Francis II, who had not yet reached his majority, Charles V's secretary of state, Granvelle, concluded a match for Ferdinand's daughter Catherine which provided that Francis and his heirs would have primogenital rights in the city-state. In the marriage between his daughter Maria and Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, Charles insisted that the latter be recognized as crowned king of Bohemia by his father. A negative example of the significance of nuptial arrangements for the reinforcement of social and political status, one need only turn again to the agreement signed by Archduke Ferdinand and Philippina Welser. Both formally acknowledged that she was *not* the equal of her husband, either in class or in ancestry, and that neither they nor their children would lay claim to anything in the Habsburg patrimony.<sup>55</sup> Ferdinand also used marriage diplomacy to deal with a related problem—the clarification of lines of succession and disposal of any other problems that might arise over possession of Habsburg titles. Thus, as noted before, he required his daughters to give up their hereditary claims to the Austrian lands of their house and what he considered their corresponding rights in Hungary and Bohemia.<sup>56</sup> His prospective sons-in-law had to accept formally such

<sup>52</sup> Anderson, *Traditional Europe*, 3.

<sup>53</sup> Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I*, 9: 737.

<sup>54</sup> Balandier, *Anthropologie politique*, 105.

<sup>55</sup> "Anna . . . Albrecht," fols. 32–33; "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 2; "Matrimonialia Maximilian . . . cum Maria Hispanarum Infanta" (hereafter "Maximilian . . . Maria"), HHS, Familienakten, carton 20, fol. 131; Bucholtz, *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinands I*, 9: 736.

<sup>56</sup> "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 3; "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 23–24; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fols. 32–33; "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 30; Ferdinand's instructions for negotiation of a marriage between William of Mantua and Archduchess Leonora, Apr. 2, 1561, HHS, Familienakten, carton 22, no folio number. The Hungarians and the Bohemians denied the legitimacy of such claims and persisted in their contention that the monarchy was elective.

renunciations.<sup>57</sup> In dealing with Charles V, Ferdinand made it clear that while he recognized his own son, Maximilian, as his successor in Bohemia, the younger man was not to interfere in the conduct of the office during his father's lifetime.<sup>58</sup>

Occupying office or being married to someone who does is not necessarily the only sign of political power. Possession of certain economic privileges such as the right of eminent domain or control of certain incomes from lands and markets can also function as indexes of prestige and authority.<sup>59</sup> Again, such matters were very carefully spelled out in Ferdinand's marriage negotiations. All of the arrangements considered in this article call for the transfer of territorial rights and privileges to the female involved and include provision for the perpetuation and management of these should either man or wife predecease one another. That there was a clear relationship between land privileges and social station can be seen in the agreement between Ferdinand and Duke William of Cleves. The latter consented to give his bride, Ferdinand's daughter Maria, a number of territories, castles, and hunting rights, which she would continue to enjoy "according to her birth and old tradition"<sup>60</sup> if she were widowed.

If the combination of land and wealth denoted exclusiveness and political influence, indeed were instruments of these, arrangements for the husbanding of such resources had to be very exact. The sums of money involved in the various categories of gifts could be considerable. As mentioned before, Ferdinand's contributions to each of the matches he concluded for his daughters ran from 50,000 to 100,000 Rhenish gulden. Charles V promised a generous 300,000 gulden for the dowry of his daughter Maria when she became the wife of the future Maximilian II.<sup>61</sup> To grasp the meaning of these figures it is helpful to realize that in 1545 it cost Ferdinand 259,824 gulden to maintain an army of approximately 4,300 in Hungary, around 40,000 gulden less than the dowry of his niece.<sup>62</sup> Such funds could be turned to any number of purposes, including the financing of other matrimonial ventures. Ferdinand used the unpaid principle of the sum pledged to his daughter Catherine in her short-lived marriage to the duke of Mantua as part of his contribution to that princess's union with the king of Poland.<sup>63</sup> Thus it was imperative during mar-

<sup>57</sup> For typical letters of renunciation, see "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 4, and "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fols. 23-24. The latter is undated but was undoubtedly drawn up at the end of October 1549. See Archduke Ferdinand to King Ferdinand, Oct. 28, 1549, "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 19.

<sup>58</sup> "Maximilian . . . Maria," fols. 18-19.

<sup>59</sup> Balandier, *Anthropologie politique*, 41.

<sup>60</sup> "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 27.

<sup>61</sup> "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 2; "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 46-47; "Maximilian . . . Maria," fol. 20. The actual completion of the transfer of these monies was another matter. Dowries were customarily given over a period of time after the consummation of the marriage. In Ferdinand's agreements this was one or two years. See "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 14; "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fols. 25-26; "Catharina . . . Franciscum," fol. 2; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 29.

<sup>62</sup> "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 25; "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 29. The imperial gulden and the Rhenish florin had approximately the same value at this time. This data and the cost of Ferdinand's Hungarian army can be found in Alfons Huber, "Studien über die finanziellen Verhältnisse Österreichs unter Ferdinand I.," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, supp. vol. 4 (1893): 201, 211-12.

<sup>63</sup> "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 46.



riage negotiations not only to establish the size of incomes and properties to be transferred but also to fix the blood boundaries within which these exchanges were to take place. Such measures were especially necessary in agricultural economies where conspicuous consumption of wealth by more than a few might dissipate it to a point where it could no longer have any status-conferring effect.<sup>64</sup> Marriage negotiations on these matters, then, aimed as much to conserve money and property as to add a certain amount of it to any given family.<sup>65</sup>

In settlements that Ferdinand arranged, restricting the flow of wealth became especially problematic in the event one partner predeceased the other. Stipulations for this contingency were not uniform, though the inclination to keep money and property circulating in precisely defined channels was clear. Thus, if Ferdinand's daughter Catherine were to die before Sigismund Augustus, her *Heiratsgut* and the 100,000 counter gift from her husband were to fall to the king and his kingdom.<sup>66</sup> Ferdinand negotiated more favorable terms with William of Cleves. The duke would have the usufruct of his wife's *Heiratsgut* if she should predecease him, but after he died this would revert to her family. What she had not disposed of in a will of her *Morgengabe* would belong to William. The remainder of additional monies presented to her by her father, the aforementioned *Heimsteuer* and *Besserung*, would, if she had no children, go back to her paternal house, provided that she had made no testamentary provision for these funds.<sup>67</sup>

The same careful limitations on the use of money and lands marked arrangements should the male partner be the first to die. If anything, the additional complications for testamentary freedoms that widowhood and possible remarriage created made these stipulations even more detailed than those covering the situation where the wife predeceased the husband. The woman's negotiators wished that she be maintained according to her station throughout her life, but her husband's side wanted assurance that the lands and incomes essential for this condition would be spread no more widely than necessary. Catherine of Poland was to have complete usufruct of all the sums her husband and father contributed to her marriage, but at her death she could only dispose in her will of her *Heiratsgut* and the other sums given to her by her father, plus her *Morgengabe*. Sigismund Augustus's *Wiederlegung* was to revert to the Polish Crown. If Catherine left no direction for disposal of the first three items mentioned, these would go back to her nearest male heirs in the house of Austria or, failing these, to the female members of her family. This provision also applied to whatever she had brought into this marriage from her previous union with the duke of Mantua.<sup>68</sup> Both Anna in Bavaria

<sup>64</sup> Anderson, *Traditional Europe*, 41-42.

<sup>65</sup> Lawrence Stone has already noted the importance of marriage for both these functions in "Marriage among the English Nobility in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 3 (1961): 195.

<sup>66</sup> "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fol. 47.

<sup>67</sup> "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fol. 28.

<sup>68</sup> "Catharina . . . Sigismund August," fols. 47-49.

and Maria in Cleves were given territories, castles, and other rights associated with lands in their husbands' possessions for the duration of their marriage and widowhood. If they were to remarry, however, these were to revert to their husbands' heirs or those of their husbands' families.<sup>69</sup> Ferdinand guaranteed that Maria, the daughter of Charles V, would get 20,000 crowns throughout her lifetime and a good part (*sufficienti parte*) of the 60,000 crowns that he assigned the couple as an annual contribution to the upkeep of their household. She would also receive the two important and prestigious fortresses of Bratislava (Pressburg) and Buda. If she were to remarry, she would continue to get the 20,000 crown allowance, although she would have to yield the two fortresses to her Austrian relatives before she could collect this sum.<sup>70</sup> If there were legitimate children produced in these unions, some of these provisions were to be altered to take progeny into account. Nevertheless, the basic pattern of these agreements—the attempt to restrict the circulation of wealth to as limited a circle as possible—remained.

THUS DYNASTIC MARITAL ALLIANCES in the case of Ferdinand I were neither devoid of useful purpose, as Erasmus seemed to think, nor accidentally related to the development of empires. The strictly observed pattern of gift-counter-gift-reciprocal countergift noted earlier, the strong sense of mutual exchange that Ferdinand showed in marital negotiations, and, conversely, the absence of all this in a marriage where a wider alliance was not desired indicate that these arrangements were ways of representing the rule of reciprocity that anthropologists have noted form the basis of alliances. Such customs were especially appropriate to diplomacy in an age where states were still very much regarded as the personal property of kings and without organic identity of their own. As instruments for the perpetuation and enhancement of status, the conservation of wealth, and the maintenance of privilege and power, dynastic marriage and the family system associated with it played a natural role in the ruling of empires. The heavy element of patrilinear control, illustrated so vividly by Ferdinand in his dealings with Archduke Ferdinand and Philippina Welser, over such matters as titles and property prevented extensive dissipation of these key resources. Indeed, all these activities were reciprocally supportive to a remarkable degree. To use marriage and the family structure within which it took place to reinforce and improve one's position, one had to have the land and wealth to conclude these arrangements. Possession of these things came only through inheritance, purchase, or conquest. The expansion of one's territories obviously provided any prince—Charles V and Ferdinand included—with greater wherewithal to embark on these ventures. For example, incomes that Ferdinand gave to Maximilian in the latter's marriage with his Spanish cousin Maria were to come from Silesia and the two Lusatias, territories that were part of the kingdom of Bohemia

<sup>69</sup> "Anna . . . Albrecht," fol. 50; "Maria . . . Wilhelm," fols. 27, 40.

<sup>70</sup> "Maximilian . . . Maria," fol. 22.

and that swore their fealty to Ferdinand after he acquired them following the battle of Mohacs in 1526. Similarly, certain monies and rents that Maria was to bring with her came not from Spain but from Aragonese holdings in Naples.<sup>71</sup>

Thus dynastic marriage was tied to diplomacy and the shaping of empires in very specific ways. There is little cause, then, to wonder that the Habsburgs and probably their fellow sovereigns attached such significance to matrimonial alliances and went to such lengths to create and to maintain them. On the one hand, they provided an opportunity for the exchange of obligations without which no treaty could come into being. On the other, they were one way of consolidating and maintaining the political prestige without which no dynasty could expect to manage its territorial holdings for very long.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 19–20, 22.

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## “Made for Man’s Delight”: Rousseau as Antifeminist

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VICTOR G. WEXLER

A CHRONIC PROBLEM IN STUDYING Rousseau is the paradoxical nature of his works.<sup>1</sup> His *Emile* (1761) is no exception. Officially condemned but widely read, it was a boldly anticlerical and completely anti-institutional treatise on education. The book became an inspiration to both reformers and revolutionaries, but in one area it also disappointed many who embraced much of what Rousseau maintained in *Emile* as well as in his other critiques of society. Because Rousseau slighted the education of women, *Emile* became a special source of chagrin to contemporary feminists and to many of the women who avidly read Rousseau in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In the fifth and final book of *Emile*, where he prescribes an education suitable to the woman in the protagonist’s life, the radical Rousseau emerges as a reactionary, both by the standards of his own time as well as by our own. Emile was to be a critical, self-reliant citizen, entitled to an elaborate education and full equality with his peers. Sophie, on the other hand, was to be trained only as a wife to Emile and as a mother to his children. It was in total earnestness that Rousseau uttered one of his most misleading epigrams: “Woman is made for man’s delight.”<sup>2</sup>

Mary Wollstonecraft, one of the most vigorous proponents of equality of the sexes in law and education in the eighteenth century, expressed considerable admiration for Rousseau’s equalitarianism in praising the achievements of the French Revolution in her *Origin and Progress of the French Revolution* (1794). But two years before, when she wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Women*, she had pleaded with the leaders of revolutionary France to ignore the views of Rousseau on the subject of women and to grant them full equality under the new constitution. She was very direct in attacking Rousseau’s conception of female nature and women’s rights: “I may be accused of arrogance; still I must declare, what I firmly believe, that all the writers who have written on the subject of female education and manners from Rousseau to Dr. Gregory

<sup>1</sup> The most thought-provoking survey of these paradoxes is Peter Gay’s “Reading about Rousseau,” in his *The Party of Humanity* (New York, 1964), 211–61.

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile*, ed. François Richard and Piene Richard, Editions Garnier (Paris, 1964), 446.

have contributed to render women more artificial, weak characters, than they would otherwise have been; and consequently, more useless to society." She explicitly singled out Rousseau

for his character of Sophie, is, undoubtedly a captivating one, though it appears to me grossly unnatural; however, it is not the super-structure, but the foundation of her character, the principles on which her education was built, that I mean to attack, nay, warmly as I admire the genius of that able writer, whose opinions I shall often have occasion to cite, indignation always takes the place of admiration, and the rigid frown of insulted virtue effaces the smile of complacency, which his eloquent periods are wont to raise, when I read his voluptuous reveries. . . . How are these mighty sentences lowered when he describes the pretty foot and enticing airs of his little favorite.<sup>3</sup>

Thus Wollstonecraft detected a disturbing contradiction in the thinking of one of the most influential minds of the century.

And she was not alone. The passionately republican historian and pamphleteer, Catherine Graham Macaulay, whom Wollstonecraft admired both for her endorsement of the French Revolution and for her *Letter on Education* (1790), denounced Rousseau for his position on the education of women. Macaulay, having earned the scorn of Dr. Johnson for her "absurd levelling doctrine,"<sup>4</sup> insisted that there was no inherent disparity between men and women in their potential for learning, and that, Rousseau's famous book notwithstanding, "the education of the people, in the most extensive sense of the word, may be said to comprehend the most important duties of the government."<sup>5</sup>

On the Continent, where some eminent women formed a veritable cult of Rousseau, criticism of his treatment of female education was muted. Rousseau's influence on Mme Roland was enormous. A well-documented study of this influence maintains that both were "radical bourgeois, hostile to the old order" and shared the same "rebellious religious spirit," "revolutionary sensibility," and "pre-Romantic soul."<sup>6</sup> But it must be stressed that Roland's own literary and political careers are proof that she did not take the word of her idol to heart in regard to female education. Roland appeared to have been too enamored of Rousseau to have ever spoken out against his treatment of Sophie. More obviously disturbed by Rousseau's antifeminism than Mme Roland was Mme de Staël. Although she esteemed Rousseau's works and helped to make them popular among the Romantics in the early nineteenth century, she was aware that her protest against women's lack of

<sup>3</sup> Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (London, 1792), 35. Wollstonecraft's recent biographers focus on the problem this early feminist had in assimilating Rousseau on the subject of female education; see, for example, the popular biography by Eleanor Flexner, *Mary Wollstonecraft* (Baltimore, 1972), 154-55, or the more substantial study by Claire Tomalin, *The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft* (London, 1974), 109.

<sup>4</sup> James Boswell, *Life of Johnson*, ed. George Birbeck Hill, rev. L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934-50), 1: 448.

<sup>5</sup> Catherine Graham Macaulay, *Letters on Education* (London, 1790), 274. There exists no full-length published scholarly study of Macaulay; however, an admirably lucid account of both Macaulay's achievements as well as her personal problems may be found in Mildred Chaffee Beckwith, "Catherine Graham Macaulay: Eighteenth-Century English Rebel" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1953).

<sup>6</sup> Gita May, *De Jean-Jacques Rousseau à Madame Roland* (Geneva, 1964), 58, 140, 130-31.

civic and legal rights contradicted the teachings of Rousseau. She ignored the limitations Rousseau placed on women in society and instead focused her attention on what she believed was his portrait of romantic love.<sup>7</sup>

A recent and well-substantiated inquiry of feminism during the period of the French Revolution establishes just how strong a force Rousseau was in retarding the progress of women's rights during this period.<sup>8</sup> While others have, with good reason, condemned Rousseau for his thoughts about women and their education, I shall attempt a more dispassionate exposition of these attitudes and their origins. I hope that my approach will lead to the realization that for Rousseau, at least, "male chauvinism" was not the result of condescension.

It is to be expected that nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars of eighteenth-century feminism and of Rousseau interpreted his dicta about female education in a vein similar to that of his contemporaries. Léon Abensour, in his classic *La femme et le féminisme avant la Révolution*, which has never been surpassed in the scope or depth of its study of women's social conditions in eighteenth-century France, outlines two schools of thought concerning women's rights. On the one hand, there were the progressives, represented in the extreme by the sensationalist Helvétius, who wrote in *De L'esprit*, "If women are in general inferior to men, it is because in general they receive an inferior education." But Abensour writes that "Rousseau is the leader of another school. On the nature, aptitudes, and role of women . . . his ideas are in formal opposition to the ideas of the other philosophes. . . . A misanthrope, Rousseau is consequently a misogynist . . . Rousseau who on so many points was innovative, remains on this subject quite traditionalist."<sup>9</sup>

Writing in 1907, Gabriel Compayré, in one of his many books on pedagogy in France, says flatly that "Rousseau who on so many other points anticipated the tendencies and innovations of the modern mind, can in no way be considered an expert on what is nowadays called 'women's rights.' Nothing would have offended him more than to claim to mingle and assimilate the two sexes to the same habits and functions." After having introduced Rousseau as "an initiator, nay more, a revolutionary" in the history of educational theory,<sup>10</sup> Compayré was as disappointed by his observations on Rousseau and the feminist movement as were Macaulay and Wollstonecraft.

As we approach the present, we discover that the typical interpretation of Rousseau's antifeminism has, with one notable exception, neither changed nor become more nuanced or comprehensive. In a well-informed discussion of

<sup>7</sup> Madelyn Gutwirth, "Madame de Staël, Rousseau and the Woman Question," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 86 (1971): 107. A good example of Mme de Staël's awareness that as a *femme auteur* she contradicts the teaching of her mentor, Rousseau, may be found in the second preface to her *Lettres sur les écrits et le caractère de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, in her *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Auguste Louis, baron de Staël-Holstein (Paris, 1820), 1: 7-10.

<sup>8</sup> Jane Abrey, "Feminism in the French Revolution," *AHR*, 80 (1975): 43-62.

<sup>9</sup> Léon Abensour, *La Femme et le féminisme avant la Révolution* (Paris, 1923), 362; the quotation from Helvétius appears on page 367.

<sup>10</sup> Gabriel Compayré, *Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Education from Nature*, tr. R. P. Bart (New York, 1971), 88, 6.



women's rights in the eighteenth century, A. R. Humphreys followed Aben-sour's lead. He sees the followers of Locke, Encyclopedists such as Diderot and d'Alembert, or sensationalists such as Helvétius or d'Holbach, as advocates of equality, whereas Rousseau represents a reactionary point of view concerning female education.<sup>11</sup> Most recently, this classic oversimplification is presented in an article, "The Political Theory of Male Chauvinism: J. J. Rousseau's Paradigm." Here the author does not hesitate to conclude that "in sum, Rousseau's political ideas, in spite of their equalitarianism, begin with the assumption that women are not equal to men and proceed to the justification of male domination."<sup>12</sup> Present-day critics seem to persist in thinking that Rousseau's obvious denigration of women is simply a manifestation of outright contempt.

Only Pierre Burgelin goes beyond a simple fascination with the apparent paradox in Rousseau's thinking on this subject. Even though Burgelin confines his discussion largely to the fifth book of *Emile*, he suggests that the subordination of Sophie results from an elaborate theory regarding the order of society, which preoccupied Rousseau in virtually all of his writings.<sup>13</sup>

Sophie's subjugation is indeed more than a manifestation of a reactionary side of a revolutionary thinker. It is central to Rousseau's conception of a virtuous society, as opposed to the corrupt one he knew and rejected. But beyond that, it is, I believe, an expression not of his disdain for women, but rather of his fear of them, a fear he never conquered. To understand the nature and the origin of Rousseau's apparent antifeminism, his theory of the place of women in society requires some analysis. In addition to discussing theory, we may profit from an examination of how Rousseau expressed his fear of women in his popular novel, *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1760) and of how this fear emerges in his autobiographical work. This exploration of theory, fiction, and autobiography should give us insight into why Rousseau chose to educate Emile and keep Sophie at home.

ROUSSEAU FIRST BEGAN to put women in their place, as it were, when he launched his first major criticism of Western civilization as a whole. In October 1749 Rousseau pondered the question posed for competition by the Academy of Dijon: "Has the restoration of the sciences and arts tended to purify morals?" His reply won the prize and brought its author fame and recognition as an advocate of what he considered to be the virtuous, natural state of mankind, a state where men and women led segregated lives. He denounced enfeebled and poetic Athens in favor of strong and virtuous Sparta. This theme of the first *Discours* was expanded in the second, where Rousseau

<sup>11</sup> A. R. Humphreys, "The Rights of Women in the Age of Reason," *Modern Language Review*, 41 (1946): 256, 262.

<sup>12</sup> Ron Christenson, "The Political Theory of Male Chauvinism: J. J. Rousseau's Paradigm," *Midwest Quarterly*, 13 (1972): 299.

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Burgelin, "L'Education de Sophie," *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 35 (1959-62): 115-16.

again showed himself hostile to the artifices and institutions of contemporary society, because they made the natural, strong man weak, fearful, soft, and effeminate.<sup>14</sup> Rousseau's choice of adjectives is revealing. In the society he would reconstruct, nature was to be Rousseau's chief ally. For a man pre-occupied by his own weaknesses, and excessively sensitive to the criticism of others, nature, or natural virtue, meant strength and autonomy. It was a perversion of nature, he insisted, that made a strong man the servant of a weak one, or of a woman, and it was this perversion, among others, that Rousseau sought to rectify in his later works.

Four years after the second *Discours*, Rousseau lashed out at d'Alembert's proposal to establish a theater in Geneva. The *Lettre à M. d'Alembert* afforded Rousseau another opportunity to praise ancient, stoic virtue and to condemn the corruption resulting in part from a mingling of the sexes. It is, says Rousseau, nature's law that women be educated differently from men and that they lead separate lives. The same precept, ceaselessly argued later in *Emile*, is anticipated in the *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*. Men and women cannot be allowed the same entertainment any more than the same privileges concerning the law or family responsibility. This is not prejudice, Rousseau writes, but a truth all nature proves constantly: "Why, they ask, should what is not shameful for a man be so for a woman? Why should one of the sexes make a crime for itself out of what the other believes itself permitted? As if the consequences were the same on both sides! . . . Nature wanted it this way and it would be a crime to stifle its voice."<sup>15</sup>

There are two images, one of the natural woman at home and another of the woman who has abandoned her family in spite of nature's dictates, that are simply recopied in *Emile*. "Is there a sight in the world so touching, so respectable as that of a mother surrounded by her children, directing the work of her domestics, procuring a happy life for her husband, and wisely governing the home?" And, of course, the picture of the violation of nature: "A home whose mistress is absent is a body without a soul that soon falls into corruption: a woman outside her home loses her greatest luster, and, despoiled of her real ornaments, she displays herself indecently."<sup>16</sup> The theater would lead women away from their "natural" role. It could not be tolerated in Calvin's Geneva, or in Rousseau's.

Besides destroying the fabric of family life, the theater would excite sexual desire in both men and women, a prospect Rousseau feared very much since he believed that men were more vulnerable to excessive and uncontrollable sexual urges. On the basis of what he perceived to be nature's prescription, Rousseau limited the sphere proper to female nature. Yet women were stronger than men in an area that was all-important to Rousseau: the control of sexual passion. If the Genevans began to attend the theater, where plays

<sup>14</sup> Rousseau, *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750), in *Du Contrat Social*, Editions Garnier (Paris, 1962), 9; *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1754), in *ibid.*, 46.

<sup>15</sup> Rousseau, *Lettre à M. d'Alembert sur les spectacles* (1758), in *ibid.*, 191.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 193; for similar images, see Rousseau, *Emile*, 18.

that exalted the passions would certainly be presented, the influence of women would be expanded at the expense of men. Love and sensuality, the areas where women dominated men, would assume even greater importance and might even influence other aspects of Genevan life: "Love is the realm of women. It is they who necessarily give the law in it, because according to the order of nature, resistance belongs to them and men can conquer this resistance only at the expense of their liberty. Hence, a natural effect of this type of play is to extend the empire of the fair sex, to make women and girls the preceptors of the public and to give them the same powers over the audience as they have over their lovers."<sup>17</sup> Rousseau's fear of women, as well as his vision of a natural, controllable society where the powers of women would be prescribed, is obvious in the *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*. The establishment of a theater would render these fears all the more vivid, and, at the same time, destroy the order of society.

Rousseau believed that with women away from the home, with the playwright's celebration of sexual passion, the population would be enfeebled and degenerate. The arrival of the theater in Geneva would make it another Paris. Calvin's native city would soon see salons where "harems of men are more womanish than the woman who runs them."<sup>18</sup> Rousseau hated the Parisian salons and displays a certain vindictiveness in the *Lettre*, which he wrote when he was in a quarrelsome mood. He had become suspicious of Grimm, mistrustful of Mme d'Épinay, jealous of Voltaire's literary success in Switzerland, and argumentative with the once-beloved Diderot. In December 1757 he broke with his former friends altogether, left Mme d'Épinay's Hermitage, and settled in Montmorency.

Within four months after his "break," he wrote the *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*. That Rousseau began to suffer from aggravated retention problems as well as from an inguinal hernia condition at the time he wrote the *Lettre* may also explain some of its bitterness.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps we should keep in mind what Rousseau himself said about this polemic as he reflected about those unhappy weeks in 1757 when he wrote it: "Full of the lesson I have just read the greybeards in my *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*, I was ashamed of taking it so little to heart myself."<sup>20</sup> Yet for all of its rancor, the *Lettre* is a rehearsal of Rousseau's theories about the role of women in society, which he refines and elaborates in *Emile*.

The epoch-making *Emile* is based on the simple premise that nature is right. From this axiom Rousseau draws several innovative conclusions. The traditional notion that the achievement of the child should be measured by his intellectual precocity is completely reversed. The child is deliberately kept from books and schools that would teach him how to read, and he is forbidden the formal religious education that would inculcate in him the ways of the

<sup>17</sup> Rousseau, *Lettre à M. d'Alembert*, 159.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>19</sup> Ronald Grimsley, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness* (Cardiff, 1969), 154.

<sup>20</sup> Rousseau, *Les confessions* (1778), in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Bernard Gagnebin and Marcel Raymond, Pléiade, 1 (Paris, 1959): 543.

catechism. There is more to *Emile* than this program of natural or negative education—it is a handbook on how to be strong, that is, in control of one's emotions. In examining *Emile* with this program in mind, we will find the explanation of why this inventive educational program was designed for Emile and not for Sophie.

Early in *Emile*, Rousseau sets the scene for the education of independence through control of emotions. He informs us that strength is the most desirable of virtues. Education, such as he describes, should make man stronger in the area he most needs to overcome his endemic weakness—control of the sexual urge. We will later learn that women, whom he confines to the home in order to preserve society, do not need this type of education.

When Rousseau treats the education of the infant in the second book of *Emile*, he defines explicitly how Emile should seek his happiness. Emile must learn to pursue his desires only to the point where he can satisfy them within the restraints placed upon him by nature. Thus, Emile must learn to curb his desires by enduring privation. He must learn to bear pain, to sleep on hard beds, to harden his feet by dispensing with shoes, to grow unafraid of the dark by acclimating himself to it. He is to learn the joys of autonomy by depriving himself of slaves who would otherwise serve him.<sup>21</sup>

Prior to the onset of puberty, Rousseau has Emile learn as much as possible. Emile learns the necessity for law as well as a host of other Rousseauist virtues, such as temperance, patience, and self-reliance, all of which will be necessary for participation in the social contract. But once Emile becomes a sexual being, "he becomes deaf to the voice he used to obey; he is an animal in heat; he distrusts his keeper and refuses to be controlled."<sup>22</sup> This means that his keeper's job is more arduous than ever. Rousseau wishes Emile to learn the pleasures of rational love, of love based on esteem, love that is pleasurable without being destructive of reason, love that could be spiritual as well as sensual, love that would consist of both friendship and sexual desire—the type of love that Rousseau yearned for but could never attain.<sup>23</sup> Emile must be taught to achieve what was Rousseau's frustrated aim. The ability to achieve rational love is not bestowed upon Emile by nature but must be developed by reason. The education of self-control that Emile has been receiving for hundreds of pages is designed to develop this ability. Rousseau maintains that reason is the better part of nature's commandments, and he implies that with the proper education, it may hold passion in restraint.<sup>24</sup>

By the time Emile is an adult he should understand that he will be a free man only when his reason governs his passions and he has accepted the order nature seems to have carved out for society. Emile should be ready to leave his tutor, to join men, and to be happy. Rousseau, however, is not yet ready to have Emile leave the tutor, and for an excellent reason: the most formidable

<sup>21</sup> Rousseau, *Emile*, 186.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 192.

<sup>23</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 430. Grimsley devotes an entire chapter to Rousseau's failure to combine admiration with sexual attraction in his *Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness*, 85–115.

<sup>24</sup> Rousseau, *Emile*, 337.

obstacle in the path to independence is not yet passed. Sophie represents the tragic finale to Emile's education. Emile may not be consciously aware of this final submission to Sophie, but in the end his independence is a delusion. Sophie's awesome power is her ability, even within her confined place in Rousseau's natural order, to reverse the merely apparent achievement of Emile.<sup>25</sup> It is time to introduce Emile to the voice he will henceforth obey.

Rousseau opens book 5 of *Emile*, the one wholly devoted to the education of women, by reiterating that nature has made woman physically weaker than man and the mother of his children. Thus nature has made woman dependent on man and possibly his victim. The laws of nature are just. Rousseau has been repeating this as one of his fundamental maxims since the second *Discours*, and he has emphasized this as an axiom throughout *Emile*. Physical inequality is amoral; it requires dependence on nature but not on men. Emile knows he cannot perform what is beyond his power, he had taught himself to accept this fact with equanimity. The restrictions Rousseau wants to place on Sophie's education arise from adhering to what he observes as the commands of nature. Sophie's natural role in life is to be the object of Emile's pleasure and the faithful mother of his children; all laws that men make must conform to this rule.<sup>26</sup>

It would be a sin against nature to educate Sophie in a manner similar to Emile. Not only would nature be betrayed, but it would also mean eventual degeneration of all order in society. A woman confined to being a wife and mother is worth more to herself and more to all society. Just as the conscience of the individual who denies his own innate nature is corrupted, a society whose laws and institutions are contrary to the laws of nature is degenerate. Rousseau has created what he believes is the natural man in Emile; he must create the natural woman in Sophie. Emile's companion will excel in that which is proper to her sex; there will be no needlework that she cannot do and she will love to use lace, the most feminine of all materials. Rousseau believed that a man is instinctively repelled by a woman who pays more attention to books than to her children. "If there were none but wise men upon earth, such a woman would die an old maid."<sup>27</sup>

Rousseau had expressed admiration for Greek society, particularly that of Sparta, in his earlier writings. He does so again here in his discussion of women in the last book of *Emile*: "As soon as the Greek women married, they disappeared from public life; within the four walls of their home they devoted themselves to the care of their household and family. This is the mode of life prescribed for women alike by nature and reason. These women gave birth to the healthiest, strongest, and best proportioned men who ever lived, and except in certain islands of ill repute, no women in the whole world, not even the Roman matrons, were ever at once so wise and so charming, so beautiful

<sup>25</sup> Burgelin stresses the apparent nature of Emile's domination over Sophie in his "Education de Sophie," 121. I am in agreement with him here and will go further in maintaining that if anyone is dominated in *Emile*, it is the protagonist himself.

<sup>26</sup> Rousseau, *Emile*, 450-51.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 454, 519.

and so virtuous, as the women of ancient Greece."<sup>28</sup> Nature and reason, as Rousseau interprets them, have fostered in him an idyllic vision of society. He no doubt hoped that the readers of *Emile* would make that vision come to life.

There can be no doubt that in Rousseau's natural society women would have a secondary place. There would be no equal opportunity and no possibility for competition; all this is obvious enough. But when we consider Rousseau's estimation of woman's power to govern her emotions, we discover just how powerful she is, even within a restricted role. Sophie is second to man and "made for his delight" because of her physical weakness, but this is a natural limitation for which she can easily learn to compensate by using her emotional stability to her own advantage in bringing Emile to submission. Her natural physical inferiority never leads to the painful anxiety that is synonymous, for Rousseau, with the tyranny of the passions. Rousseau has not simply slighted woman by devoting himself to the education of the young male. Like a teacher whose supreme compliment to a student is to exempt him from required busy work, Rousseau, awed by woman's natural ability to control her emotions and her talent to make her will dominant over man's, has exempted her from education in self-restraint. Indeed, what Sophie knows by instinct, Emile must learn by living through the most rigorous education ever invented.

Masculine superiority is, in reality, a sham superiority. As a husband Emile seems to be master of his wife, but actually he is her unknowing lieutenant in marriage as well as in courtship. By making her pleasures scarce, Sophie governs Emile; after all, asks Rousseau, "Where is the real lover who is not ready to sacrifice everything, his whole life, for his mistress?" Man commands woman, yet "there is quite a difference between claiming the right to command and managing him who commands."<sup>29</sup> Dependence on Sophie's sexual favors constitutes Emile's unconquerable obstacle to independence.

When finally Emile meets Sophie, falls in love with her, and proposes marriage, we can see the entire education for strength and self-control defeated. In a final speech to Sophie, Rousseau—posing as the tutor—explains Sophie's position in her marriage to Emile:

When Emile became your husband, he became your commander; it is up to you to obey, this is the way nature wanted it. When the wife is like Sophie, however, it is good that the man be led by her; this is still the law of nature; and it is in order to give you as much authority over his heart as his sex gives him over your person that I made you the arbiter of his pleasures. You will have to make painful sacrifices, but you will reign over him if you know how to reign over yourself, and what has happened thus far shows me that this difficult art is not beyond your courage. You will rule over him for a long time if you make your pleasures scarce and precious, and if you know how to make them wanted.<sup>30</sup>

At last, after his marriage to Sophie, Emile is promoted by his teacher, but this is no commencement. The tutor's lengthy task is now over. He abdicates

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 457–58.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 495, 517.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 612–13.



the authority he had over Emile, only to confide it to Sophie.<sup>31</sup> Emile's independence is illusory, and we can see some irony in this for it seems that nature has provided for this, too. The logical but unhappy conclusion of an education that teaches the acceptance of the law of nature and the necessity of personal autonomy by the perfection of self-control ends in dialectical negation: the natural function of Sophie is the power that annihilates Emile's independence. The final paradox of *Emile* is the defeat of its hero by a heroine who is acting according to her nature.

I believe Emile's failure may be understood as his creator's failure as well. An examination of Rousseau's novel and of his autobiographical work will reveal that Rousseau was never able to establish a wholly satisfying relationship with any woman. Rousseau was no more able than Emile to achieve a rational love, an ability to love physically and spiritually the same woman. Like Emile, Rousseau became overawed in the presence of women to whom he was attracted. When Rousseau—again in the voice of the tutor—addresses Emile toward the end of the treatise, he sadly asks himself: "Do I feel myself being swept away? Emile, what have you become? I can hardly recognize my pupil. Are you undone? Where is the young man so sternly fashioned who braves all weathers, who devoted his body to the hardest tasks and his soul to the laws of wisdom; inaccessible to prejudices and to passions, a lover of truth who listened only to reason? Now crushed in an indolent life, he lets himself be ruled by women, their amusements are now his, their will is now his law."<sup>32</sup> Viewed from this perspective, Rousseau's restrictive education of women is a tribute to their strength. Women are already strong enough. Their strength came from their indifference to sexual pleasure, which allowed them to govern what Rousseau believed was the passion-dominated sex.<sup>33</sup> He designed an elaborate theory regarding the necessity of a natural society and a natural education in part to keep women at home. He was afraid to extend their inherent powers to areas where men might remain masters of themselves.

IN THE *Confessions* Rousseau maintains that, although it might seem incredible, "all that is audacious in *Emile* was previously in *Julie*."<sup>34</sup> Rousseau is referring here to the notions concerning natural religion, which he expresses in both his educational treatise and his widely read, lengthy epistolary novel, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. But we can apply the relationship between the two works to other areas as well. This novel, which made Rousseau one of the most popular novelists of the century, reveals the author's dream world, a world in

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 614.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 549.

<sup>33</sup> It should be pointed out that in an unfinished novel, "Emile et Sophie ou les solitaires," Rousseau has Sophie succumb to temptation, and she has a child by another man. But this occurs when the whole structure of the natural society has crumbled. I do not think we can consider this fragmentary piece as illuminating either Rousseau's conception of the nature of women or their role in society. The origin of this fragment is best discussed by Burgelin in his introduction to Rousseau, *Oeuvres complètes*, Pléiade, 2 (Paris, 1969): ciii–clxiii.

<sup>34</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 407.

which he feels the power of women as vividly as he did in real life. It allows us to glimpse the author's fantasy of natural society as well as his understanding of the emotional power of women in contrast to the weakness of men.

Although she incessantly professes her emotional instability, the heroine of the novel, Julie d'Etange, the daughter of a well-established gentleman, emerges in my view as a strong, domineering presence in the novel. After she banishes her lover from her father's household, she helps to govern an idyllic miniature society. Julie comes to live in the type of setting that Rousseau searched for throughout his life, but never found. She is the incarnation of the ideal woman as Rousseau perceived her; moreover, she embodies, as my analysis of the *Confessions* will show, many of the qualities Rousseau himself sought but lacked.

Julie d'Etange manages to control her emotions and is able with the help of her husband to be the queen of the cosmos at Clarens, where everybody—men, women, children, and servants—occupies a fixed place, and does so cheerfully, realizing that the ordered society is most beneficial for all its constituents. By comparison, Saint-Preux, Julie's tutor and lover, is a weak foolish child. He is—indeed he cannot prevent himself from being—the plaything of his emotions. Lest we doubt the obvious association of Rousseau with this “humble adorateur,” as Julie calls him, we have Rousseau's letter to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, where he writes that if Saint-Preux is not what he was in life, he is “what I should like to have been,”<sup>35</sup> as well as his statement in the *Confessions* that his fate was similar to that of Saint-Preux.<sup>36</sup> In addition, the very name “Saint-Preux” is reminiscent of the romantic pseudonyms that Rousseau upon occasion gave himself.<sup>37</sup> But in a manner of speaking, this evidence is superfluous: the identification is obvious page after page, letter after letter.

Each of the six parts of *La Nouvelle Héloïse* depicts the admirable qualities of its heroine and the subjugation of the love-smitten Saint-Preux. In his first letter of the first and longest section of the novel, Saint-Preux confesses his love for his pupil. He knows very well that in falling in love with Julie, he is initiating torment that can only end in misery; he tries to leave, but like an Aeschylean hero he must live out his fate until it consumes him. But it is not the gods who determine this; it is the beautiful Julie. “I notice with horror what torment my heart is preparing for itself. . . . Dry up, if possible, the source of passion that nourishes me and kills me.” He implores Julie to send

<sup>35</sup> Rousseau to Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, in de Saint-Pierre, *La vie et les ouvrages de Jean Jacques Rousseau* (Paris, 1907), 139–40. Jean Guéhenno detects the identification of Saint-Preux with Rousseau but maintains that Saint-Preux was what Rousseau dreamed of becoming because of Saint-Preux's fine-sounding, aristocratic name and his good luck in not being “subjected to the insults and humiliations to which Jean Jacques had been subjected.” *Jean-Jacques: En Marge des Confessions* (Paris, 1962), 344. Rousseau certainly did identify with Saint-Preux and may have dreamed of becoming his fictional embodiment, but it does not seem to me as cheerful a prospect as Guéhenno implies. Saint-Preux suffers because of his weaknesses just as much as his creator did.

<sup>36</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 104.

<sup>37</sup> Lester Crocker, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 2 (New York, 1973): 58.

him away and he promises to leave: "Banish me from your presence and you will never see me again."<sup>38</sup>

Julie, however, has other plans for Saint-Preux. She wants him to stay, to tempt and to seduce him and subsequently to blame him for having defiled her. "Do not think that you have to leave," she replies to Saint-Preux; "A virtuous heart knows how to conquer itself or be silent. . . . You may stay."<sup>39</sup>

In declaring that Saint-Preux is the "author of her fault," although she planned the seduction herself, having invited Saint-Preux to her bedroom and provided him with good pretexts to visit her,<sup>40</sup> Julie manages to inflict a sense of guilt on Saint-Preux. He, in turn, conceives of Julie's fall from virtue as his responsibility, and he assumes the guilt that Julie invites him to bear. Saint-Preux conceives of his guilt as the result of his weakness—his inability to withstand the tug of his libido. Like Emile and like Rousseau himself, Saint-Preux, an otherwise moral man, is undermined by this weakness, this particularly male trait. Despite her technical fall from virtue and her confessed remorse, Julie no more becomes morally inferior to Saint-Preux than Sophie becomes the servant to Emile.

In the aftermath of their lapse, Saint-Preux looks to Julie for guidance. Pitifully he asks her to determine their future because her strength and ability to reason must compensate for his inability to take decisive action. When Saint-Preux asks her to flee with him, Julie refuses, insisting that in spite of him, she is still virtuous. She will not leave her "sweet father and her incomparable mother" whom she has shamed. Saint-Preux, Julie declares, will not debase her further.<sup>41</sup> Julie has thus called upon her female strength: her ability to resist further temptation to succumb to her sexual attraction for Saint-Preux.

Before banishing Saint-Preux from Clarens, Julie informs him of her decision to marry M. de Wolmar, the suitor her parents have chosen for her. In contrast to the enfeebled Saint-Preux, she is the moral champion in Rousseau's eyes, for she has overcome her passion out of obligation to her parents and her appreciation of the sanctity of the family bond. As Saint-Preux prepares to quit her household, Julie reveals to him how she will educate her children. The girls and boys shall be educated separately and differently, as the laws of nature dictate.<sup>42</sup> In so pronouncing, she not only anticipates one of the main themes of *Emile*, she also demonstrates her own

<sup>38</sup> Rousseau, *Julie ou La Nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. René Pomeau, Editions Garnier (Paris, 1960), 7, 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 11–12.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 114, 77. I do not agree with Crocker that Saint-Preux is the seducer in this instance. See Crocker, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 2: 59. As I point out, Julie entices Saint-Preux and makes the practical arrangements. Moreover, her introduction of the familiar "tu" form is inflammatory. Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 13. While Julie claims to "have neglected nothing to halt the progress of the deadly passion" that is overcoming Saint-Preux, she makes sure he stays around the household. Later she writes to Saint-Preux from her garden, in very seductive language: "Oh my dearest, I imagined that you were with me, or rather I carried you with me in my breast." *Ibid.*, 36.

<sup>41</sup> Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 88–89.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 102–30.

moral superiority over the weak and defeated lover. By the time Rousseau completes the first part of his story, he has created a picture of his notion of the ideal woman, one who can control her emotions and who understands the premises of a natural education. He has also created in Saint-Preux a lamentable self-image of a man who aspired to do good but could not, because of his enslavement to his erotic needs.

During his period of exile from Clarens in the second and third sections of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, Saint-Preux is made to feel the full weight of moral inferiority. Julie has Saint-Preux placed in the hands of a Milord Bomston, a temperate and rational Englishman, who will guide the banished and rejected defiler of the virtuous heroine in his travels through the Swiss cantons and France, finally reaching that center of sin, Paris. Although he is physically separated from Julie, Saint-Preux feels her strength and listens to her preaching through her letters.

In her marriage to the good but cold de Wolmar, Julie regards romantic love as unnecessary. She sees very little of de Wolmar, going to bed after and waking before he does. Now that Saint-Preux is no longer present, she can dispense with an emotion that still haunts Saint-Preux. She writes that "love is accompanied by the continual unrest of jealousy or denial which is awkward in marriage, which should be a state of delightful peace. . . . Lovers can only see themselves and can care only for themselves, and the only thing they know how to do is to love one another. This is not enough for a married couple who have obligations to fulfill."<sup>43</sup> Julie knows that Saint-Preux could never be capable of such *sang-froid*, and she is determined to make him feel inferior for remaining the slave to his physical love for her.

By reminding Saint-Preux of his original ambition of loving her and of being virtuous, Julie punishes him for having renounced virtue for lust. Saint-Preux first confessed his love by extolling the honorable quality of his emotion. "Love is deprived of its greatest charm when it is no longer honorable," he writes to Julie; "Take away esteem and love is nothing." But having defiled Julie, Saint-Preux is incapable of pursuing his original goal. When Saint-Preux writes to Julie begging her to leave her family and flee with him, Julie, in a smarting reply, reminds Saint-Preux, whose proposal she

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 351–52. Crocker sees de Wolmar as a projection of Rousseau's rational self or his "anti-image." *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 2: 57. In addition, Crocker stresses the influence of de Wolmar in running the household at Clarens, but I believe that he attributes too much importance to de Wolmar. Of course, de Wolmar is the titular head of the household, and as Julie herself remarks, he is "calme de passions." Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 348. When we consider the novel as a whole and ponder its drama, however, it is Julie's choice of de Wolmar that is important. De Wolmar remains a somewhat nondescript character. I contend that it is Julie's inner strength that directs the whole novel, even though she claims at times only to be running Clarens according to de Wolmar's precepts. *Ibid.*, 474. If de Wolmar can at all be termed an "anti-image" of the author, it must be one of minor importance in contrast to the image of Saint-Preux, who embodies Rousseau's weaknesses—those traits which fascinated and infuriated him. I must also disagree to an extent with Grimsley who sees de Wolmar as a symbol of moral conscience. See *Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness*, 140–45. "The ordered and innocent world" of Clarens, as Grimsley puts it, is only superficially de Wolmar's doing. Where would de Wolmar's plans be if Julie did not choose to marry him and thus renounce Saint-Preux and all that he stands for? I interpret her "weakness" and subsequent need for de Wolmar's guidance as partially feigned. In rejecting Saint-Preux, she demonstrates all the moral strength necessary to bring our story to its conclusion.

regards as reprehensible, of his very own words, and of his inability to love both her and virtue: "Take away esteem and love is nothing. . . . That is our lesson, my friend, and it is you who dictated it."<sup>44</sup> Saint-Preux's abject humiliation is the result of that all-male quality, weakness. Like Emile, and like Rousseau himself, he tried for virtue and love but was too weak to retain his ability to act morally when threatened by his passions.

Eventually, in the last half of the novel, Rousseau has Julie and Saint-Preux reunite at Clarens. The setting is perfect for the continued defeat and punishment of Saint-Preux. He brings prurient longings back to Julie, whose life at Clarens is meant to show how idyllic, calm, and virtuous life can be where passion is absent. Julie reappears in all her roles: the subtle seducer, the tenacious teacher, the incarnation of the moral ideal.

Saint-Preux has returned to Clarens at Julie's insistence. Julie and Saint-Preux have not been together in eight years; as soon as he arrives, Julie wants him to talk of his adventures and of his bravery. Saint-Preux prefers other subjects. "'Ah, Julie,' I told her sadly, 'I am with you only a moment and you already want to send me to the Indies.' " She has drawn him close to her—to talk of travel. The comment of Julie's cousin, Claire, is to the point: "I notice, Julie, that your slave has been sent back."<sup>45</sup>

Life proceeds in its own perfect, orderly way at Clarens, but there is trouble ahead. Julie is not happy and confesses her grief to the impressionable visitor. Julie reminds Saint-Preux that she has every reason to be happy at Clarens; she has a faithful and supremely rational husband, devoted servants, obedient children, but "a secret affliction, a single source of grief poisons this life, and I am not happy." What should Saint-Preux think? In his own uncomplicated way he understands Julie's comment to be an invitation to her bedroom. "This deadly idea [that Julie is unhappy] upset in an instant all my own notions and troubled the peace I was just beginning to enjoy."<sup>46</sup>

Julie's last attempt at seducing Saint-Preux in the sanctuary of Clarens has begun. Crossing Lake Geneva with Julie, Saint-Preux experiences what is described in the table of contents as his *horrible tentation*. In reality, Julie is seducing him, only to reject him at the last moment. The wind blows up a storm, sending the waves on deck; Julie wipes his face. Safely on land, they go for a walk; she catches his hand but quickly changes her mind and decides that she would rather be alone. Back on board the boat going home, Saint-Preux, feeling guilty about his temptation, sighs that once again Julie's virtue has thwarted his evil intentions.<sup>47</sup>

Julie's goodness and understanding of the natural order of society pervades Clarens. Although she learns a good deal from de Wolmar, she emerges as the benevolent sovereign of this society and stands again in contrast to Saint-Preux as the personification of Rousseauist strengths. Her servants are

<sup>44</sup> Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 60, 342–43.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 405–06, 417.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 496.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 499–505.

treated with kindness and affection but are kept, as her children are, in their place. In governing the life of the servants, Julie requires that the women and men live together but be kept apart as much as possible. They never do the same work. Saint-Preux is properly impressed. He writes that "because of the admirable order which reigns here one feels that in a well-regulated house men and women ought to have little to do with one another. . . . Julie maintains that neither love nor marriage results in continual contact between the sexes. According to her the husband and wife are destined to live together, but not in the same way. They must act together without doing the same things. The life that would charm one would be intolerable to the other." In case the order of Clarens does not speak for itself, Julie herself emphasizes to her audience what principles she employs to rule. She consciously invokes the wisdom of de Wolmar whose "only working rule is a natural taste for order. The well-established combination of fun, fortune, and action of men pleases me exactly as the beautiful symmetry of a painting or a well-directed plan."<sup>48</sup>

Toward the end of part 5 of the novel, Saint-Preux describes a dream in which he is haunted by a premonition of Julie's death. He sees Julie lying quiet and immobile, covered by a veil that has been drawn over her to shut out all life. Saint-Preux is beginning to mourn Julie's death before she dies a few years later—post mortem grief is not sufficient for one so enamored as Saint-Preux. This dream reveals that Saint-Preux's frustrations and torment have penetrated into the unconscious. "I saw Julie at her place, I saw her, I recognized her even though her face was covered by a veil. I let out a cry and rushed forward to push aside the veil, but stretch as I could, I could never reach it; I tormented myself and touched nothing. 'My friend,' she answered in a weak voice, 'calm down, the veil is unmovable, none can remove it.'"<sup>49</sup> Julie, in her role as the alluring but unobtainable ideal, enjoys the success that her femininity has brought her.

Julie's sacrificial death, as recounted by de Wolmar, closes the sixth and final part of *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. All Clarens must listen to Julie preparing for sainthood. On her deathbed, Julie selects Claire as the new mother of her children. Julie wants Claire to keep them from the catechism so that someday they will be Christian and, finally, to teach them to live so that they will know how to die bravely without the morose and horrifying sacraments of the Catholic Church.<sup>50</sup>

Audience terminated, and it was one of her best, she can die. She has seized the noble opportunity of giving up her life to rescue her drowning child. Her exit is an Assumption. The strong and moral Julie is free from her own insupportable preaching, but Saint-Preux has returned to Clarens to join the rest of her bereft admirers. He has returned, no doubt, to torture himself for the evil he symbolized in Julie's life, the evil to which she in fact brought him, but for which he feels responsible because of his own weakness.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 432, 474.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 603.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 705-06.



The character of Julie represents in fiction precisely what Sophie represents as a theoretical ideal in *Emile*. Both figures are able to govern their male counterparts by making their pleasures “scarce and precious.”

ALTHOUGH ROUSSEAU INTENDED his *Confessions* to be a work of unprecedented candor, the biographer cannot accept Rousseau’s version of his life story without a good deal of skepticism, for the *Confessions*, along with the later *Dialogues*, have long been understood as the products of a brilliant but paranoid mind. Convinced that the philosophes had entered into a conspiracy against him, Rousseau set out to exonerate himself from their blackening accusations and lies. To recount Rousseau’s life with some degree of fairness to those who played a role in it and to understand Rousseau as objectively as possible, the biographer must unravel Rousseau’s exaggerations and distortions.

For us, however, the *Confessions* can serve another useful purpose. Rousseau’s adventures and misadventures with the women he loved, or tried to love, illuminate his personal fear of women—which helps to explain why his theory of education slights women and how his fictional treatment of female nature exaggerates their emotional influence on men.

Early in the recounting of his life, Rousseau insists that the very thought of enjoying a woman’s favors engendered such weakness in him that it eventually became impossible for him to “take a journey to her side with impunity.” As much as he resisted it, the very thought of total involvement with a woman filled him with fear: “If ever in all my life I had once tasted the joy of love to the full, I do not think that my frail existence could have endured it; I should have died as a result.”<sup>51</sup> It is hardly surprising that the unifying pattern of Rousseau’s adult relationships with women was his refusal to be totally committed to them, to love and to esteem the woman concerned. He would, in general, either fall desperately in love but isolate himself from a sexual experience or give in to his sexual compulsions, regarding the woman involved as a relative nonentity. Rousseau needed to escape from any total engagement of the passions. Using a variety of excuses, he managed to avoid the very relationship he feared would have killed him.

Perhaps one of the most striking aspects of his relationships with women was his assumption that none of the women he approached or became involved with seem afflicted with the weakness that perennially plagued him. The conflicts, frustrations, and defeats he suffered as a result of his “loving too well,” as he sometimes put it, were his own. They were a part of his male character just as Emile’s and Saint-Preux’s weakness was part of their masculine identity. No matter into which category he placed the women in his life, either as idealized objects of his most ardent desires, whom he could not degrade by loving physically, or as mere vessels for the outlet of his sexual desires, they all appear immune from the afflictions of an overpassionate

<sup>51</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 195, 219.

heart. I have indicated that the relative indifference of women to their passions is the cornerstone of both the education of Sophie and the portrait of Julie. Rousseau's personality has been given the label "obsessional" and that of other psychic aberrations, and where sexual maladjustment is concerned, a cluster of difficulties is responsible. Rousseau's childhood was far from normal. His mother died within a week of his birth, and he was abandoned at the age of ten by an indifferent father.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, he was the victim of a congenital urinary disorder, which forced him to undergo frequent and painful catheterizations, and he apparently had an abnormally formed penis, which made intercourse awkward.<sup>53</sup>

He first experienced sexual pleasure masochistically when he was punished and beaten by Mlle Lambercier at the age of twelve. Rousseau's observation about the beating reveals that he tried to seek his sexual pleasure in some indirect or evasive manner.

To be at the knees of an imperious mistress, to obey her commands, to have to ask for her forgiveness, have been for me the sweetest pleasures, and the more my vivid imagination heated my blood, the more I appeared like a lover in ecstasy. As one may imagine, this way of making love does not lend itself to very rapid progress, and it is hardly threatening to the virtue of the desired object. Therefore I have possessed very few women, but I have not failed to get a great deal of satisfaction in my own way, that is to say, imaginatively.<sup>54</sup>

Rousseau here wishes to remain a punished child, to receive his pleasure masochistically. His proclivity for sadomasochism remains an integral part of his sex life as an adult, most notably with Mme de Warens. He also becomes a voyeur, is constantly an onanist, and sometimes a participant in a *ménage à trois*—anything to avoid a complete involvement as an adult male with a woman he could both love and know sexually.

Another adolescent experience, which occurred soon after the incident with Mlle Lambercier, establishes a prototypical pattern in Rousseau's reaction to women. He encounters two women at the same time, Mlle de Vulson and Mlle Goton, who represent two "distinct sorts of love" to him. He claims that his whole life has been divided between these separate emotions, although he often experienced them simultaneously, as he does here. He was attracted to Mlle de Vulson and could have had a sexual relationship with her but he did not find his passions aroused to an uncontrollable point. Mlle Goton, on the other hand, excited Rousseau to the point of delirium. "I approached Mlle de Vulson with genuine pleasure, but without fear. But I had only to see Mlle Goton and I saw nothing else, all my senses were turned upside down. With Mlle de Vulson I was familiar without familiarity; but with Mlle Goton I

<sup>52</sup> His childhood has also been closely studied. There is the classic study by Eugene Ritter, "La famille et la jeunesse de Jean-Jacques Rousseau," *Annales de la Société Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 16 (1924-25). Ritter's study forms in part the basis of the more psychologically oriented studies by Grimsley, *Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness*, 14-85, and most recently by Crocker in the first volume of his biography, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1 (New York, 1968): 1-37.

<sup>53</sup> Crocker, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1: 16.

<sup>54</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 19.

trembled with agitation even during our most intimate moments.” It is difficult to determine what Rousseau meant by these “most intimate moments.” All we know is that she beat him, that he liked it, and that their games had come to a halt soon after they began.<sup>55</sup>

By creating a dichotomy between his relatively calm familiarity with Mlle de Vulson and his intense feeling for Mlle Goton, Rousseau anticipates the escapist pattern of his adult love life. Had the relationship with Mlle Goton continued, he might have renounced any sexual contact with her as degrading; she might have become an untouchable idol, in somewhat the same way Mme de Warens and Mme d’Houdetot were to become. Mlle de Vulson could have been a sexual partner but with no more emotional involvement than that demanded by Rousseau’s mistress and companion of more than thirty years, Thérèse Le Vasseur. Rousseau will readily admit that he did not love Thérèse but that she responded well to his sexual needs. Rousseau had to make concessions to his libidinal impulses, but he was too fearful to be able to find a woman he could love spiritually and physically—this would have meant deliberate bondage to a stronger power.<sup>56</sup>

During his teen-age travels, Rousseau finds two alluring women who manage to unnerve him. Although he does not categorize them as he does Mlle de Vulson and Mlle Goton, he insists that he loved them and was attracted to them. He had to find some means of evading the challenge with which they threatened him. Rousseau was seventeen when Mme Basile invited him to her bedroom. He terms the sight of the lace rising on her bosom as “a dangerous spectacle,” and he fails to take advantage of his opportunity. He subsequently rationalizes his passivity, maintaining that since she was five years older than he, she should have taken the initiative. His rationalization then takes what will become a typical escapist formulation for him: “My lack of success with women,” he protests, “comes from loving them too much.” Mlle de Breil, whom Rousseau encountered shortly after Mme Basile, was closer to his own age, and he found her very beautiful, yet he restricted his pleasure to voyeurism. Since her parents had employed him as a lackey, he limited his ambition to serving her within the bounds of propriety. He loved to look at her, to hear her speak, but he dared go no further.<sup>57</sup> Rousseau thus insulated himself from what might have been a humiliating experience.

Rousseau’s vision of woman as an idol untainted by degrading passions is exaggerated by the particular disgust he finds characteristic of male sexual response. His description of a homosexual who tries to entice him while he is staying at a hospice in Turin in 1728 reveals a conscious horror of this aspect

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 28, 27, 1247.

<sup>56</sup> Crocker explains this dichotomy in the following manner: “And so Jean-Jacques carried on both erotic games at once, each giving him a different sensation, neither intruding on the other. All through his life, he later remarks with lucidity, he divided himself between these two kinds of love, ethereal and sensual, often at the same time. His abnormal psychological history prevented the proper integration of the various levels of his personality, splitting the components of sexual love and relating them to their objects in an unrealistic way.” *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1: 29. Grimsley is more succinct: “He was at the mercy of irrational and incomplete emotions associated with his erratic impulses.” *Rousseau: A Study in Self-Awareness*, 114.

<sup>57</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 76, 77, 94.

of male sexuality: "Just as he stopped struggling with me I saw something gluey and whitish shoot toward the fireplace and fall on the ground, and I was very upset. I rushed out onto the balcony, more troubled and frightened than I had ever been in my life. I was just about to be sick." Sickened by a man's sexual reactions, he is all the more awed by the absence of such intense passion in women. "Women, by way of contrast, acquired a greater value for me. I seemed to owe them a reparation for the offenses of my sex. . . . Because of my memory of this phony African, the ugliest slut became an object of my adoration." Rousseau made a great fuss about the incident, reporting it to the administrators of the hospice, who promptly told him to calm down. The only other homosexual experience Rousseau relates occurred when he was twenty and in search of a friend of Mme de Warens. He was befriended by a fellow traveler in a square in Lyon, where they were both—because of their poverty—obliged to sleep. When the older man made his intentions clear, Rousseau became alarmed and fled.<sup>58</sup>

It has long been maintained that Rousseau demonstrated all the symptoms of latent homosexuality.<sup>59</sup> Not only his paranoia, but his sexual passivity, his reference to himself as effeminate, and the fact that he took the place of his mother in his father's affections before the latter remarried<sup>60</sup> tend to support this contention. Indeed, Rousseau's intense repulsion is in itself suspect: if he were not at all on some level of consciousness attracted by the homosexual overtures, he might not have reacted so violently. But the fact is that he never expressed his homosexuality. In its latent form, it served only to make him consciously loathe male sexuality all the more, and further idealize female sexuality, which seemed to him free of such degrading intensity.

The most important woman in Rousseau's life was Mme de Warens. Some of the time he spent with her—particularly during the summer of 1736 when they repaired to Les Charmettes, a lovely property in a vale within walking distance from her house at Chambéry—was the happiest period of Rousseau's unhappy life. In his last and unfinished promenade of the *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire* (1778), written just four months before his death, he expressed his desire to return to the "sanctuary, the isolated house nestled in the small valley," where he and the woman he called "maman" lived.<sup>61</sup> "Maman" not only played an essential role in constituting Rousseau's happiness, she also exercised a great influence on the formation of his ideas concerning feminine nature. When talking of Sophie or of Julie, he is often reflecting about the character of Mme de Warens.

Rousseau likens one of his returns to Chambéry to Saint-Preux's at Clarendon: "I saw my little bundle carried up to the room that had been picked out

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 67, 69, 165–66.

<sup>59</sup> The conclusion that Rousseau's paranoia resulted from latent homosexuality was first made in the early 1900s by psychoanalysts who followed the classic Freudian formulation that paranoia often arises from the suppression of the homosexual wish. The literature on the subject for this period is vast; a survey of it is contained in I. W. Allen, "Thérèse La Vasseur" (Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1933), 34–36.

<sup>60</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 12, 55, 1260.

<sup>61</sup> Rousseau, *Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, Pléiade, 1: 1099.

for me with much the same feeling as Saint-Preux when he saw his carriage put into Mme de Wolmar's coach house."<sup>62</sup> Even the setting of Chambéry is romanticized to the point where it resembled Clarens, when in fact Chambéry was in disrepair.<sup>63</sup> Rousseau soon came to worship Mme de Warens in the same hyperbolic terms as Saint-Preux adored Julie. His legs trembled as he approached her house, and once inside, he became totally absorbed by his attachment to her, who became his "sole passion." Like Saint-Preux, Rousseau acts impulsively and irrationally in the presence of his adored object, and he acts in ways he cannot explain rationally. Rousseau can even excuse his masochism as part of the delirium that overtook him when he was with Mme de Warens.<sup>64</sup>

However great the similarities between the intensity of Rousseau's passion and that of his fictional counterpart, the differences in their relationships with the women who stimulated that passion are just as significant. Saint-Preux wanted Julie to be his lover in a normal sexual sense, to live with her as her husband—his motives are obvious, his behavior is straightforward. Rousseau sought feverishly to be loved and accepted, but he unconsciously resisted any relationship that would have called upon him to be totally involved, mind and body, with any woman. The threat imposed by such a relationship was more than he could bear.

Soon after arriving at Chambéry for the first time in 1728, Rousseau, despite his frequent departures and explosions of temper, developed a deep affection for the clever and urbane mistress of the household. He experienced the type of intense feeling for Mme de Warens as he did earlier for Mlle Goton, but with the former this feeling lasted for several years. How would he shield himself from becoming erotically involved with such a woman?

Since Mme de Warens had a lover, Claud Anet, when Rousseau arrived, she did not force the issue. For a while a *ménage à trois* existed in which Rousseau was not obliged to perform sexually, but he took no chances. He disarmed Mme de Warens by making her his mother. She was twelve years older than he; she took him in when he was a mere vagabond in search of security. It was not difficult for Rousseau to call her "maman." "'Little one' was my name, and hers was 'mamma,' and so remained little one and mamma. . . . She was the tenderest of mothers to me, she never sought her own pleasure but only my good. . . . It never entered my mind to abuse her maternal caresses." But Mme de Warens's interest became more than maternal, and Rousseau had to face the moment he dreaded. He avoided the confrontation as long as possible, but "maman" managed to seduce "little one." He felt nothing but remorse as a result, because he had committed

<sup>62</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 104.

<sup>63</sup> Crocker, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1: 89.

<sup>64</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 123. See also page 108: "Sometimes in her presence I fell into extravagances that seemed as if they could only have been the result of the most violent love. One day at the table, just as she put some food into her mouth, I cried out that I had seen a morsel of hair on her plate, whereupon I seized it greedily and swallowed it. To sum it up there is only one difference between the most passionate lover and myself and that is that my whole condition is inexplicable in the light of reason."

incest. He now knew what he suspected would be the case, he could not be Mme de Warens's lover. His final rationalization for his failure repeats his excuse for not having been aggressive toward Mme Basile and anticipates the excuse he would later use regarding Mme d'Houdetot—he loved her too much to lust after her.<sup>65</sup> She had become an idol to him.

Rousseau's adoration of Mme de Warens is reflected in both Emile's enfeebling love for Sophie and Saint-Preux's bondage to Julie. Rousseau's notion that women are more in control of their emotions than men reflects his experience with Mme de Warens's seeming lack of sensuality.<sup>66</sup> Rousseau was remorseful after their physical encounter, but she was "neither sad nor excited, she was caressing and tranquil." Her apparent indifference toward sexual pleasure gave her strength, which Rousseau envied. In his eyes, her mastery over her passions permitted her to be promiscuous without being immoral. She could be scarce or generous in giving pleasure to her paramours, Tavel and Anet, with equanimity. There is more than a touch of envy in Rousseau's observation that "she could have slept with twenty men every day and with a clear conscience and with no more scruple than desire. I know that many religious people are no more scrupulous on this point, but the difference is that they are carried away by their passions and she only by her sophistry. . . . She could even interrupt her conversation if she had to, for the act itself, and then resume it with the same serenity as before."<sup>67</sup> For Rousseau, where there was strength or mastery over passion, there was no room for evil. He could only feel inferior over his own inability to possess the emotional stability of a Mme de Warens, and guilty about his comparative weakness.

Rousseau's break with Mme de Warens came about in 1737, three years after the death of Anet. When Rousseau returned to Chambéry after one of his excursions to Geneva, he discovered that his "maman" had installed another convert to Catholicism in her house. Jean-Samuel-Rodolphe Wintzenreid, a virile and vivacious young man, would satisfy Mme de Warens where Rousseau had failed. Although he had not objected previously to Mme de Warens's lovers, Rousseau resented Wintzenreid because his presence was a constant and smarting reminder that "little one" could not be relied upon to perform as a man when "maman" deemed it appropriate.

Quite understandably, Rousseau does not dwell on the painful months from February 1738 to April 1740, when he played "the double role of rejected lover and clinging parasite,"<sup>68</sup> but he understands why he has been replaced. His only defense is that his adoration of "maman" prevented him from giving her what she wanted. Rousseau writes that as a woman she could not be expected to understand the nature of his affection and of his sacrifice. "Take the most

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 106, 197.

<sup>66</sup> Havelock Ellis, "Madame de Warens," *Virginia Quarterly*, 20 (1933): 431. Ellis writes that de Warens "in character, tastes, and feelings, corresponds to Julie, although the heroine of the novel lived on a somewhat more magnificent scale" (p. 413).

<sup>67</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 197, 230.

<sup>68</sup> Crocker, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1: 128.



sensible, the most philosophical, the least sensual of women. The most unpardonable crime that a man in whom she is not otherwise very interested can commit is that of not having sex with her when he may."<sup>69</sup> He quits Chambéry for the last time with the illusion intact that esteem and non-sensual love are incompatible with the physical act of love.

Mme d'Houdetot is the Mme de Warens of Rousseau's mature years. Her visit to Rousseau when he was writing *La Nouvelle Héloïse* at Mme d'Epinay's Hermitage in late 1757 helped him to arrive at his understanding of female sensuality. Rousseau came to love Mme d'Houdetot in the same way he loved "maman," as an ideal he could not tarnish by becoming her lover. When he approached her as anything other than a noble friend, he insists that it was her decision to recall him "to duty and reason." He seems quite relieved to have the "tenderest of friendships"<sup>70</sup> with this woman whom the philosophes so much admired.

One reason Mme d'Houdetot was content to treat Rousseau as an affectionate friend was that she had an adequate lover in Saint-Lambert, and she never had to make the demands on Rousseau that "maman" had to make. Mme d'Houdetot's solution to the problem of having on the one hand a potent lover and on the other an adoring friend was to create a *ménage à trois*. She spoke to Rousseau of the "delightful trio" that they might form together.<sup>71</sup> Rousseau readily accepted such an arrangement as it provided him with a perfect means of escape.

Rousseau declared that when he was creating the character of Julie, he often thought of Mme d'Houdetot, and there is a good deal in Julie that reminds us of Mme d'Houdetot: they are both adored by comparatively weak males, and are themselves strong. The *ménage à trois* in the latter parts of the novel, between M. and Mme de Wolmar and Saint-Preux, is also in some measure a reflection of the real life trio. But Saint-Preux and Rousseau, despite their common enslavement to their passions, are very different. Rousseau did not project onto Saint-Preux his own unconscious need to evade a total engagement with a woman he loved. Like Rousseau, Saint-Preux is enfeebled by the passions that are excited by a woman, but unlike Rousseau, Saint-Preux does want his Julie. By elevating Mme d'Houdetot to the level of an untouchable goddess, Rousseau removes her, in the same manner as he did Mme de Warens, from a threatening position. Rousseau confesses, in what has become a constant refrain, that he loved Mme d'Houdetot "too well to possess her."<sup>72</sup>

This refrain of "loving too well to possess," of finding his potential lover too good for sex, has been invoked before as a way out for Rousseau—with Mme Basile and with Mme de Warens. He employs the approach in one more instance, with Mme d'Epinay, his hostess at the Hermitage. Even though

<sup>69</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 266.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 442.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, 441.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 440, 444.

Rousseau eventually viewed her as part of the conspiracy of former friends who had turned against him, he at one point insisted that "I perhaps loved her too well as a friend to be able to do so as a lover." In case this evasion did not work, Rousseau had another reason for explaining why the urbane Mme d'Epinay need never be regarded as posing a threat as a sexual partner: her flat chest, he writes, "was enough to freeze me." His observation about Mme d'Epinay recalls a ludicrous adventure he experienced with a Venetian courtesan, Zulieta, in 1743, when he was secretary to the French ambassador. He became impotent when he discovered that the otherwise very appealing female had no nipple on one of her breasts.<sup>73</sup> In a moment of extreme stress, Rousseau called upon an old and trusted ally—nature.

Thérèse La Vasseur lived with Rousseau during the last thirty-three years of his life. They were almost constant companions from the time they met in Paris in 1745, when Thérèse was working as a laundress at a boarding house where Rousseau was staying. He took her everywhere, to Mme d'Epinay's Hermitage, to visit Hume in Great Britain, and back with him to Paris. Both Thérèse and her mother, who came along as part of the bargain for as long as she could, were sources of embarrassment, but he was devoted to them. Thérèse was almost universally despised by Rousseau's friends, who believed that she aroused his suspicions that they were in league against him. Mme d'Epinay, for one, called her "jealous, stupid, gossiping and deceitful."<sup>74</sup>

More important than what his friends believed was Rousseau's own opinion of the woman he eventually married and by whom he fathered five children. He confesses total exasperation at her inability to learn anything. He decided that his efforts to improve her mind were wasted.<sup>75</sup> She never did in fact learn how to read, count money, tell time, or recite the months of the year in proper order. He seems to have contented himself with a simple-minded companion who could tend to his biological needs.

Rousseau explains his choice of Thérèse very clearly: "What will the reader think when I tell him, with all the candor he has come to expect of me, that from the first moment I saw her until this very day I have never felt the slightest glimmer of love for her, that I no more desired to possess her than I did Mme de Warens, and that the needs she satisfied were purely sexual ones and had nothing to do with her as an individual." The autobiographer underestimates his audience. Rousseau is never more straightforward and comprehensible than when he declares that he and Thérèse, despite their long period of cohabitation, "always remained separate people."<sup>76</sup> The nature of Rousseau's escape from Thérèse was the very obverse of that from Mme de Warens, but the result was the same—he was not totally involved in the relationship. He worshiped Mme de Warens too much to allow himself to

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 412, 321. Crocker notes that Casanova relates an encounter with this same Zulieta, but makes no mention of deformity. *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, 1: 159.

<sup>74</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 1406. Thérèse is not without her defenders. Allen is passionate in the defense of a woman who had to care for a physically ill and emotionally disturbed man. "Thérèse La Vasseur," 34–36.

<sup>75</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 332.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 414, 415.

degrade her as a lover, and he thought so little of Thérèse—she demanded so little of him—that he was able to have a sexual relationship with her that posed no threat to his emotional stability. Thérèse's very stupidity made possible her long relationship with this poet and playwright, this novelist and political theorist.

Rousseau demonstrated an almost painful awareness of his failure to achieve a wholly satisfying love life. What he needed most, he confesses, was the very thing he was unable to achieve: a relationship with a woman that was as intimate as it was sexual. But to have fulfilled this need, he would have had to have found "two souls in the same body." He never did, and he even offered a proper epitaph concerning his frustrated attempts: "Failing to achieve this combination, I always felt a void."<sup>77</sup> From our vantage point, it is obvious that Rousseau never let himself find this combination. As acutely as he perceived his failure, he systematically made sure it would come about. His failure is bitter, but success would have been impossible for a man so very afraid of women.

Rousseau captured his life-long fear, frustration, and total preoccupation with women in "On Women," one of the few successful poems he ever wrote.

Seductive and deadly object  
Whom I adore and detest;  
Thou whom nature embellishes  
With physical charm and the gift of wit,  
Who makes a slave of man,  
Who ridicules him when he complains,  
Who overpowers him when he fears you,  
Who punishes him when he defies you;  
Thou whose soft, serene forehead  
Bears the pleasure of our celebrations;  
Thou who excites the storms  
Which torment humankind;  
Chimerical and inconceivable being,  
Abyss of good and evil,  
Will you always be the inexhaustible source  
Of our contempt and of our concern?<sup>78</sup>

ROUSSEAU'S LATER AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL WRITINGS, the three *Dialogues* and the *Rêveries*, are significantly silent on the topics of passion and women. Except for the last promenade of the *Rêveries*, where the brief period at Les Charmettes with Mme de Warens is recalled as the one happy period in his life, there is not a single direct reference to any of his relationships with women. He eventually abandoned the search for that perfect love, which seemed impossible to obtain: any effort to secure the happiness of what might have been a vital male is forsaken.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 414.

<sup>78</sup> Rousseau, "Vers sur la Femme," in *Oeuvres complètes*, Pléiade, 2: 1160-61.

By the time he writes the lovely *Rêveries*, he has given up all attempts at exonerating himself; reconciliation among men has become impossible. He prefers to seek a new type of happiness—a solitary, indolent peace. Botany is the occupation suitable for this type of happiness, and in discovering it, Rousseau feels the serenity of his prepuberty life, before sexual passion came to him, as it came to Emile, to undermine his equilibrium and independence. “Botany,” he writes, “reminds me of my young and innocent pleasure and makes me enjoy them again.”<sup>79</sup>

In the *Confessions*, Rousseau records the sublime moments when he composed the fifth book of *Emile*. He wrote it in the gardens of Montmorency, an exquisite setting. “It was in this profound and delicious solitude, in the middle of woods and streams, among the songs of birds of every kind, and the fragrance of orange flowers, that I composed, in a state of continual ecstasy, the fifth book of *Emile*.”<sup>80</sup> It was the perfect place for Rousseau to write the part of an epoch-making book that would theorize about the education of women. His theory amounted to a total neglect of women as intellectual beings. But we can now understand that in so restricting the education of women, he was legislating the very fond wish of restraining a power he feared. Women were still, within their limited sphere, very powerful, but at least that power was not to be ubiquitous. The same observation may be made with regard to the proper role of women in Genevan society as preached in the *Lettre à M. d’Alembert*: the establishment of a theater in Geneva would have extended the influence of women by increasing the amount of contact they might have with men. No wonder then that Rousseau railed against the proposal.

Rousseau’s understanding of female nature also affected his prescription for natural society as a whole. In such a society, total harmony and equality would result from each individual accepting a certain amount of restraint. The particular restraints placed on women reflect Rousseau’s notion that they are a stronger species. Emile had to try to learn to be strong, and in concentrating on his education rather than on Sophie’s, Rousseau attempts to compensate for Emile’s innate weakness. Rousseau capitalizes on the obvious role that nature has given women by not allowing them to compete in areas that extend beyond motherhood.

The character of Julie exhibits some traits of female emotionality as Rousseau perceived them over a lifetime of frustrating and ultimately unfulfilled relationships with women. Although she professes a great love for Saint-Preux, Julie’s ability to refuse to leave the moral society of Clarens in order to spend her life with him demonstrates a strength that is incomprehensible to Saint-Preux. The same type of indifference characterized Mme de Wren’s attachment to her lovers.

Although Rousseau believed that he was an extraordinary man, he views his enslavement to his passions as a particularly male quality, and that

<sup>79</sup> Rousseau, *Les rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, 1073.

<sup>80</sup> Rousseau, *Confessions*, 521.

quality is painstakingly described in the *Confessions* and vividly dramatized in his fictional embodiment, Saint-Preux. There are, of course, aspects of Saint-Preux's personality that do not reflect his creator. Saint-Preux was not afraid of Julie—his fondest wish was to be her lover in ways Rousseau could never have been. Rousseau's impression of female strength as well as his fear of encountering that strength in a woman he loved did, however, render his imagination capable of creating a character such as Julie.

Rousseau was not the first man in Western culture to have been afraid of women. The long and complex tradition of misogyny in our civilization is partially explained by men's fear of women, a fear that has been traced to prehistoric times. Greek mythology abounds in tales which reveal that the very sight of a woman made many men feel weak.<sup>81</sup> The taboos and phobias that are typical of men's understanding of women account in part for the late wakening of women's rights. What has long puzzled and chagrined the ardent advocates of those rights concerning Rousseau's apparently reactionary stand on the issue should be understood in the full context of his ideas and life.

<sup>81</sup> Wolfgang Lederer, *The Fear of Women* (New York, 1968), 35.

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## Bolshevism, the Woman Question, and Aleksandra Kollontai

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BEATRICE BRODSKY FARNSWORTH

THE UTOPIAN SOCIALIST, Charles Fourier, believed that the emancipation of women was the best general measure of the moral level of a culture, that the degree of feminine emancipation was a natural measure of general emancipation. Karl Marx liked to quote Fourier. So did Old Bolsheviks.<sup>1</sup>

The Russian intelligentsia had long been absorbed with the problems of two oppressed groups: women and peasants. And as the relationship of the backward peasantry to the Bolshevik revolution underwent tortuous analysis, finally to become by the mid-twenties a source of bitter factionalism, the "woman question" seemed one of the few issues on which party leaders, Left and Right, agreed.

I would argue that it was an unfortunate consensus, deriving in part from a superficial commitment, in part from a limited understanding of the problem, so that at a critical time when the regime was taking form, the woman question moved not in the direction of a socialist solution, but rather toward conversion to revolutionary myth. Only one leading Bolshevik, Aleksandra Kollontai, the central figure in the socialist woman's movement, fought single-mindedly for the socialist course. But by the mid-twenties, having established herself as an oppositionist, she was isolated from decision making. This article will suggest that her capitulation to Stalin in 1927 ended the most serious attempt of bolshevism to treat the woman question on the basis of socialist theory.

REVOLUTIONS GENERATE MYTHS. One is the assumption that the Russian socialists were, from prerevolutionary days, actively committed to working for the liberation of women. In fact, insofar as we can speak of a single attitude for so factionalized a group as the Social Democrats, the opposite was true. The

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Fourier contended that "the development of a given historical epoch is best of all defined by the relation between the progress of women and freedom, since in the relations between woman and man, the weak and the strong, is most clearly expressed the victory of human nature over bestiality. The degree of feminine emancipation is a natural measure of the general emancipation." Fourier, cited by Marx, as quoted in David Riazanov, "Marks i Engels o brake i seme" [Marx and Engels on Marriage and the



liberation of women, part of the ideological equipment that the Russians inherited from a more humanistic, Western European tradition, was a concept they resisted adopting as a goal.

The reluctance of Russian Marxists to pledge themselves to solving the woman question was far from evident to Kollontai; she came from the upper-class background common to Russian revolutionary women and joined the party in 1898 chiefly because she believed socialism the surest means to achieve women's liberation.<sup>2</sup> Only in the era of the Revolution of 1905 did Kollontai begin to sense that her original perceptions had been over-optimistic. She reminded the Petersburg Committee of the Social Democratic party that they must give more attention in their program to the miserable lives of Russian working women. The party was losing women from the ranks of the students and the intelligentsia to the impressively organized bourgeois feminists, and it needed as a counterbalance a base among the proletariat. The socialists rejected both Kollontai's idea for a special bureau in the party that would devise ways to reach women and her suggestion that they include in their aims the liberation of women. Finding herself "completely isolated" in her ideas and demands, Kollontai realized for the first time how little the Social Democratic party in Russia was concerned with the fate of the women of the working class, "how meagre was its interest in women's liberation."<sup>3</sup>

What lay behind this negativism? The Russian working woman, the *baba* so backward an element in society, seemed an unlikely recruit to a secret political party, an inappropriate comrade. But the Petersburg Committee objected to Kollontai's ideas chiefly because they saw in them the diversionary danger of feminism. Although an alliance between socialism and feminism is referred to as one of the most enduring of nineteenth-century intellectual bonds, it was true only insofar as feminism was defined loosely to mean the equality of women and their incorporation into the mainstream of public life.<sup>4</sup> With the development of Marxism as a political movement, later in the nineteenth century, the term "feminism" became suspect in European socialist parties. It implied not simply equality for women but a union of women as a separate group, linked by bonds that transcended those of class. This was, of course, deviant thinking, the mere suggestion of which made Marxists uneasy. Specific clauses concerning women and separate institutions, whether bureaus in the party or working women's clubs, held for them the threat of dividing the working class. Therefore the Social Democrats preferred that the liberation of women be treated not as a specific, revolutionary goal but rather as an eventual result of the class struggle.

Both wings of the Social Democratic party, Mensheviks as well as Bolshe-

Family], *Letopisi Marksizma* [Chronicles of Marxism], 1927, no. 3, p. 21; Trotsky makes the same observation in *Pravda* [Truth], Dec. 17, 1925.

<sup>2</sup> A. M. Itkina, *Revoliutsioner, Tribun, Diplomat: Stranitsy Zhizni Aleksandry Mikhailovny Kollontai* [Revolutionary, Tribune, Diplomat: Pages in the Life of Aleksandra Mikhailovna Kollontai] (Moscow, 1970), 44.

<sup>3</sup> A. M. Kollontai, *The Autobiography of a Sexually Emancipated Communist Woman*, tr. Salvator Attanasio, ed. Iring Fetscher (New York, 1971), 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Martin Malia, *Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism* (New York, 1965), 266, and Simone de Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York, 1953), 112, 126.

viks, male and female, tended to share this view: thus when Vera Zasulich, the veteran revolutionary, returned to Russia after the upheaval of 1905, she rejected Kollontai's request for help in devising ways to reach women. To find the usually warm and expansive Zasulich their opponent, instead of their aide, distressed Kollontai and the small group she had recruited—among them the working woman, Klavdiia Nikolaeva, later a prominent Bolshevik. But they proceeded even without the older woman's support to establish on their own a legal women's club. Affiliated with neither socialist faction, it was deceptively named the Society for the Mutual Help of Working Women. Zasulich came to the club one evening not, as Kollontai hoped, to rejoice at its success but to condemn it as a "superfluous enterprise" that divided the strength of the socialist party.<sup>5</sup>

The woman question brought Kollontai to Marxism—others came to the richly diverse movement by equally idiosyncratic paths—but in no sense was she a political feminist. From 1906 to 1908, when she fled into exile to escape the Russian police who were pursuing her for revolutionary agitation, Kollontai was the scourge of the bourgeois feminists, whom she attacked in a torrent of polemical speeches, articles, and a belligerent four-hundred-page book, *The Social Bases of the Woman Question* (1909). With revolutionary righteousness, she denied the feminist premise that women were a group apart bound by special ties; rather, they were divided into classes just as men were. Occasionally overstating her argument, Kollontai contended that the feminists' program of reform was pitifully irrelevant for proletarian women, that despite their claims to be "nonclass" the Russian "Equal Righters," as she called the Union for Women's Equality, remained bourgeois. Determined to establish a basic truth, Kollontai portrayed the woman question not as a matter of political liberation or social reform, but symbolically as a "piece of bread," which meant that for women to be truly free they had to be economically independent.<sup>6</sup> The heart of the matter, which feminists in Russia ignored, was the domestic and marital situation. How could independence be possible for women of the working class unless the family ceased to be a closed, individual unit? Were the feminists so unrealistic as to believe that the contemporary class state, however democratically structured, would take on itself all the obligations relating to maternity and child care that were fulfilled by the individual family? Kollontai insisted that only socialists could create the conditions which in turn could free the "new woman."

What Kollontai did not reveal to the Equal Righters was her difficulty in convincing either Bolsheviks or Mensheviks, as she moved between these two factions, to include the woman question in its goals. The Social Democratic party continued to suspect Kollontai of feminism as they viewed with unease

<sup>5</sup> Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk" [Autobiographical Sketch], *Proletarskaia Revoliutsiia* [Proletarian Revolution], 1921, no. 3, p. 275.

<sup>6</sup> Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye Osnovy Zhenskogo Voprosa* [Social Bases of the Woman Question] (St. Petersburg, 1909), 34. The Union for Women's Equality was the most successful of the bourgeois feminist groups in terms of organization and broad appeal. For a discussion of Russian feminism prior to the revolution, see Richard Stites, "Women's Liberation Movements in Russia, 1900–1930," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 7 (1973): 460–74.

her penchant to concentrate on the problems of women, an emphasis that theoretically they need not have feared, if the situation of women, rather than being divisive, was to serve as a measure of the moral level of a newly structured society.<sup>7</sup>

Only in 1917 when Kollontai was at the peak of her popularity as a revolutionary, having officially joined the Bolsheviks in 1915 and been elected to their Central Committee at the Sixth Party Congress a few months before the Revolution, was she able to establish a women's bureau in the Bolshevik party. By then she had acquired powerful allies: Lenin and Iakov Sverdlov, who was later chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet. Most of the unhappy encounters between Kollontai and the Russian socialists had taken place before the Revolution with Lenin far from the scene. Yet there are indications that at least initially she questioned Lenin's commitment to the woman question. In the spring of 1914, while preparing for a proposed meeting in August of the Socialist International in Vienna where she was scheduled to report to the Women's Congress, Kollontai learned in confidence that the mandates of Menshevik delegates to the Women's Congress would be contested by the Bolsheviks. To Menshevik leaders she expressed indignation at the maneuvering of the Bolsheviks who in her view had never before been interested in the women's movement—after all she had been participating in these international meetings for years—but who were now trying to dominate the group.<sup>8</sup> A revealing charge, for when one criticized the Bolsheviks in 1914, one meant Lenin, the undisputed leader of the faction.

Kollontai took a proprietary attitude toward the Russian women's movement, understandable in view of her earlier isolation, but somewhat unfair. Among the Bolsheviks in exile were Krupskaya, Lenin's wife, and her close party comrades, Ludmilla Staël, Zinaida Lilina, and Inessa Armand, women who shared Kollontai's commitment if not her single-minded intensity.<sup>9</sup> As for Lenin, his concern was not quite so sudden, or opportunistic, as Kollontai suspected. While Lenin possessed that feel for reality, that marvelous sensitivity to the demands of the time, which prompted him now and then to adopt new tactics, his interest in the woman question had its source in an intuitive knowledge that for the revolution to succeed women had to support it, that women, the most backward element of Russian society, could best be reached by specially designed measures. If for him women's problems were not primary, but subordinate to the larger goal of revolution, they were dear to the hearts of the women closest to him: his friend Armand, first director of the women's section of the party in 1919, and his wife, editor of its journal,

<sup>7</sup> Typical of Kollontai's prerevolutionary writing was her essay, "Novaia Zhenshchina" [New Woman], *Sovremennyi Mir* [Contemporary World], 1913, no. 9, pp. 151-85.

<sup>8</sup> Letters from Kollontai to Semen Semkovskii, Boris Nikolaevsky Archive, Hoover Library, Stanford, California, as quoted in M. H. Pertsoff, "'Lady in Red': A Study of the Early Career of A. M. Kollontai" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Virginia, 1968), 42.

<sup>9</sup> Zinaida Lilina was married to Grigory Zinoviev, Lenin's chief lieutenant in these years of exile. As for Inessa Armand, another Old Bolshevik, it has been suggested that Lenin was deeply in love with her. For contrasting interpretations of this alleged relationship, see Bertram Wolfe, "Lenin and Inessa Armand," *Slavic Review*, 22 (1963): 96-114, and Adam Ulam, *The Bolsheviks* (New York, 1968), 284-85.

*Kommunistka*. It was Armand who urged in 1914 that propaganda work be widely developed among the women workers and that a special women workers' magazine be published in Petersburg. Lenin wrote to his sister Anna with this idea, and *Rabotnitsa* resulted.<sup>10</sup>

After the revolution, Lenin sought in 1920 to explain why there were so few women in the party and pointed to the party's past policy of rejecting separate bodies for work among the masses of women. Adopting as his own the argument Kollontai had been advancing since 1906 and separating himself from the party's narrow view, Lenin insisted that there must be commissions, party bureaus, whose particular duty it was to arouse the masses of women workers, peasants and petty bourgeois, to bring them under party influence. What he was advocating, he explained, was not bourgeois feminism, it was instead revolutionary expediency.<sup>11</sup>

If Sverdlov seemed an unlikely ally as head of the party's Secretariat, staffed primarily by women, he understood women's subordinate status. Anatoly Lunacharsky, the animated and generous commissar of education, considered that Sverdlov was "like ice. . . . somehow faceless."<sup>12</sup> But this same man responded with warm compassion to Kollontai's plea that the Bolsheviks commit themselves to bringing women into the party. Sverdlov helped Kollontai win acceptance for a women's bureau, and he became so vital to her work among women that upon his death in 1919 Kollontai wrote an emotional piece telling the working women of Russia that with the death of Sverdlov they had lost a comrade who was among their few convinced defenders, a comrade who really understood the need for political work among women and whose death meant special grief for their movement.<sup>13</sup>

Had Sverdlov lived, had Lenin not become incapacitated, would the woman question have been resolved in a different way? Among the Bolsheviks there was only one other leader, Leon Trotsky, whom Kollontai praised equally with Lenin and Sverdlov for his work on behalf of women.<sup>14</sup> Their initial support was invaluable. A measure of it was the party's pledge in its new program at the Eighth Congress in 1919 to replace the individual household with communal facilities for eating, laundry, and maternal and child care. Kollontai believed she had scored another triumph for the movement when, despite opposition, she was able to get a resolution passed at the Eighth Congress concerning the need for the party to work more specifically among women to draw them in as active members. But within two years she was harshly critical of the party's failure to implement its decision to include women in areas of communist leadership.<sup>15</sup> Zhenotdel, the women's section,

<sup>10</sup> Clara Zetkin, *Reminiscences of Lenin* (New York, 1934), 53; N. K. Krupskaya, *Reminiscences of Lenin*, tr. Bernard Isaacs (New York, 1970), 269-70.

<sup>11</sup> Zetkin, *Reminiscences*, 53.

<sup>12</sup> A. V. Lunacharsky, *Revolutionary Silhouettes*, tr. Michael Glenny (New York, 1967), 107.

<sup>13</sup> Kollontai, "Kogo Poteriali Rabotnitsy?" [Whom Did the Working Women Lose?], in Kollontai, *Izbrannye Stat'i i Rechi* [Collected Articles and Speeches], ed. I. M. Dazhina et al. (Moscow, 1972), 266-67.

<sup>14</sup> Kollontai, *Autobiography*, 42.

<sup>15</sup> Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk," 301. For Kollontai's criticism of the party, see her "Profsoiuzy i Rabotnitsa" [Trade Unions and Working Women], *Pravda*, May 22, 1921, reprinted in Kollontai, *Izbrannye Stat'i i Rechi*, 319.



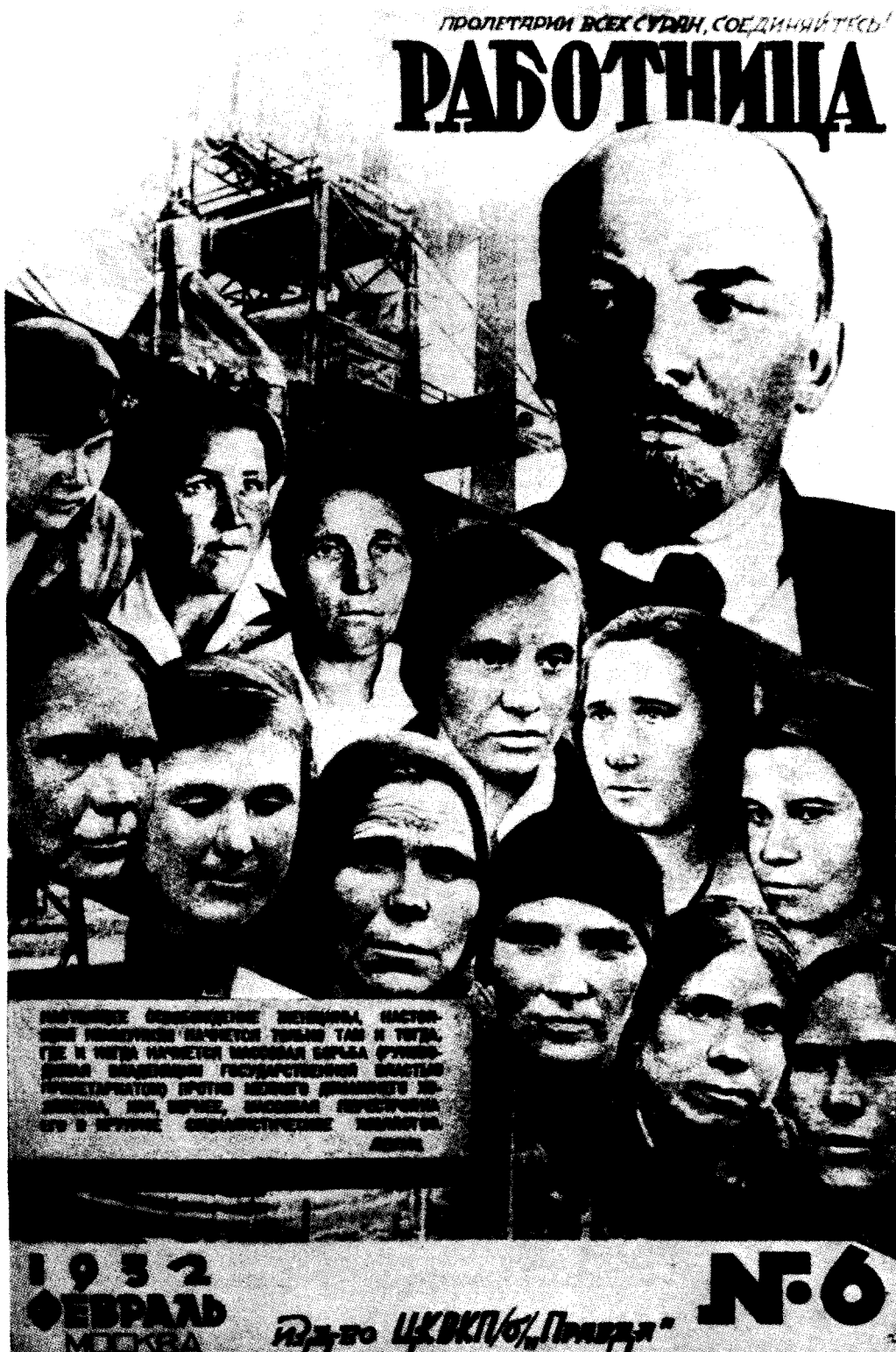


Fig. 1. Title page of *Rabotnitsa* with picture of Lenin.



Fig. 2. Kollontai addressing Second International Conference of Communist Women, June 1921. From A. M. Kollontai, *Iz Moei Zhizni i Raboty* [From My Life and Work], ed. I. M. Dazhina *et al.* (Moscow, 1974).



which was established officially in 1919 as a part of the Central Committee, was never able to overcome the forces that regarded its work with indifference or hostility.<sup>16</sup> Sophia Smidovich, an Old Bolshevik who headed the Moscow Regional Women's Section until she replaced Kollontai as director of the central Zhenotdel in 1922, described the situation. The efforts of Zhenotdel to raise socialist consciousness among women were proving expedient, but the party was failing to help. The few qualified and trained workers assigned to it were regarded with contempt by party comrades. Smidovich put the question directly: if Zhenotdel was not regarded as necessary, the party must say so; if it was needed, then qualified workers had to be provided. It would be better to liquidate the department than to allow it to drag out its miserable existence. Her dismal appraisal was shared by another Old Bolshevik, Viktor Nogin, who in his report to the Eleventh Party Congress called attention to the condescension, the abnormal, unhealthy attitudes toward Zhenotdel that caused its members to feel unequal.<sup>17</sup> But V. M. Molotov, a member of the Central Committee and one of the three party secretaries, observed that Zhenotdel's difficulties were due to its lack of a real leader. This colorless but methodical functionary, who was to rise to the highest positions as Stalin's right-hand man, implied that the trouble lay not in party attitudes but in the poor organization established by its previous directors, either Armand, who died in 1920, or perhaps Kollontai, who was her successor.<sup>18</sup> Kollontai was an ideal scapegoat. Having fallen from favor, she was already under fire at the Eleventh Congress, which was trying unsuccessfully to expel her from the party for her role as a leader in yet another unhappy cause, the Workers' Opposition.<sup>19</sup>

WE COME TO THE MID-TWENTIES, a turning point. The Bolshevik party, having committed itself in 1919 with some reluctance to solving the woman question, found that its New Economic Policy (NEP) adopted in 1921 was in conflict

<sup>16</sup> Zhenotdel developed through several stages, the first being the Women's Bureau established in 1917. From the outset the work of the bureau was directed by Kollontai. Armand, and Kollontai's protégé, Varvara Moirova, who joined the Bolsheviks in 1917. In 1918 Sverdlov helped in creating commissions for agitation and propaganda among working women for the purpose of helping to attract nonparty working women. See E. Bochkareva and Serafima Liubimova, *Svetlyi Put* [The Bright Path] (Moscow, 1967), 81. In the autumn of 1919 the party reorganized the commissions into a formal section of the Central Committee known as the Zhenotdel. A network of women's sections were attached to each of the local party committees, extending from the center in Moscow into city and provincial districts. For a full discussion of the Zhenotdel, see Richard Stites, "Zhenotdel: 1917-1930," typescript. Also see Bette Stavrakis, "Women and the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, 1918-1935" (Ph.D. dissertation, Western Reserve University, 1961), 79-168.

<sup>17</sup> *Odinnadtsati S'ezd RKP (b): Mart-Aprel' 1922 g* [Eleventh Congress, Bolshevik Party: March-April 1922] (Moscow, 1961), 456-57, 67.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 38. For an idea of the organizational work of the women's section under Kollontai, see her *Rabotnitsa i Krestianka v Sovetskoi Rossii* [The Working Woman and the Peasant Woman in Soviet Russia] (Petrograd, 1921).

<sup>19</sup> The Workers' Opposition was a group based on the idea of trade-union leadership in industry. Organized in 1920, it tried to resist the centralizing trend of Soviet politics. Its leaders were Alexander Shliapnikov, Sergei Medvedev, and Kollontai. As an Ultra-Left idealist, Kollontai added to the movement a protest against the stifling of criticism within the party and the failure of the regime to improve the living conditions of the proletariat. This movement was crushed by the party leadership in 1922.

with its social obligations. Nikolai Bukharin, earlier a leader of the radical left wing of the party, but now an exponent of the more moderate pace of the regime, stated it bluntly in the Bolshevik newspaper, *Pravda*: the official party program of 1919 was outdated and irrelevant.<sup>20</sup> The end of labor conscription, the rise in unemployment resulting from the partial restoration of private enterprise under NEP, meant that the number of women unable to find work and dependent now on men had increased. Simultaneously the government reduced its investment in child care. A resolution offered at a conference concerning woman's work in 1922 spoke of NEP's "catastrophic effect" on the work being done among mothers. For example, the number of homes for mothers and children fell sharply after 1922. Articles in *Kommunistka* reflected the sense of alarm among workers in social institutions, like nurseries, that under NEP did not know how much longer they would exist.<sup>21</sup>

For the hundreds of thousands of unemployed women, living in *de facto* marriages or neglecting to register post-1917 church marriages, the situation was potentially perilous. Should their husbands leave them, they would be without means of support. The party, faced with a critical family situation, had to deal with the fundamental question plaguing it in the twenties: would it present a forward-looking solution to demonstrate that Soviet Russia, despite the NEP, was moving toward socialism?

In October 1925 the party reacted instead by introducing to the nominal governing organ, the All Russian Central Executive Committee, a new family code, which increased not society's but the individual's economic obligations by making unregistered marriages legal. The purpose, the commissar of justice, Dmitri Kursky, explained, was to safeguard women by extending to *de facto* wives the existing right to receive alimony. To protect women further, the government added to the original family law, by which a destitute spouse unable to work had been entitled to a husband's support, the right to alimony "during unemployment."<sup>22</sup>

Attitudes, traditional and personal, surfaced in opposition to the new law: peasants feared that the expansion of alimony meant a threat to their property,<sup>23</sup> women and men looked suspiciously at each other, and even in the

<sup>20</sup> *Pravda*, Jan. 25, 1923.

<sup>21</sup> Sophia Smidovich, "O novom kodekse zakonov o brake i sem'e" [About the New Code of Laws Concerning Marriage and the Family], *Kommunistka* [The Communist Woman], 1926, no. 1, p. 47, and Smidovich, "Nashi zadachi v oblasti pereustroistva byta" [Our Tasks in the Area of Reconstruction of Daily Life], *ibid.*, no. 12, pp. 18–20; see, for example, Moirova, "Obshchestvennoe pitanie i byt rabochei sem'i" [Public Feeding and the Way of Life of the Working Family], *ibid.*, no. 10–11, p. 45.

<sup>22</sup> In the wording of the legislation the term "spouse" was used, but Kursky stressed that the purpose of the law was to protect women. Children were already safeguarded by the original code insofar as they had a right to parental support irrespective of whether the marriage was registered. Now with the new legislation they had increased protection. Kursky as quoted in "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," in Rudolf Schlesinger, ed., *The Family in the U.S.S.R.* (London, 1949), 85, a useful collection of primary sources (now out of print) containing reprints of Soviet debates and press articles. Although in the West it was said that the new code was intended as a Bolshevik attack on legal marriage, Kursky's aide, Ia. Brandenburgskii, indignantly replied that the law was promulgated out of concern for the potentially abandoned mother and child and therefore encouraged marital responsibility. *Izvestiya* [The News], Jan. 14, 1926. In 1944 the law was changed, and only registered marriage was made legally binding.

<sup>23</sup> Under NEP the private peasant farms were encouraged to exist and to contribute to economic revival. The peasant, unlike the proletarian worker, lived in an extended household, the *dvor*, in which all members

party opponents battled the proposed changes. Aaron Sol'ts of the Central Control Commission, the body responsible for enforcing moral and doctrinal standards in the party, pleased many urban men when he argued that only registered marriages should carry material consequences; but Sol'ts, who feared that women might be wrongly encouraged by the new law to enter sexual relationships in order to get alimony, had in mind enforcing stricter morality, while the townsmen sought protection against law suits.<sup>24</sup> The most controversial feature of the law—recognition of *de facto* marriage—created a demand in the Central Executive Committee for a more precise definition of marriage, since no one intended that casual relationships should entitle women to alimony. The difficulty of defining marriage was suggested by the deputy commissar of justice, Nikolai Krylenko, in his pragmatic view after a year of discussion, that if confusion still remained as to what marriage was it might be best to discard the official definition—the fact of living together, a joint household, and the announcement of such to a third party—and let the courts decide.<sup>25</sup>

Bolsheviks from left to right argued over details, but the party's ultimate purpose, the decision to protect women as the weaker members of society by means of alimony, remained unquestioned. In the middle of the nineteenth century, J. S. Mill had analyzed women's subjection and pointed out that the question was not what marriage ought to be, but a far wider question, what women ought to be.<sup>26</sup> Settle that first, the other will settle itself. Yet in 1925, among prominent Bolsheviks, only Kollontai publicly declared that the government was not dealing in a meaningful way with the woman question.

The Central Committee had failed in its effort to expel Kollontai from the party in 1922 on grounds of factionalism, but she had been effectively isolated by being sent with other dissidents into diplomatic "exile." The party assigned her to a post in Norway, where she quickly wearied of diplomatic life. Disheartened additionally by the failure of her efforts in the Workers' Opposition movement to establish genuine proletarian control in the workers' state, or to restore to the party the right to open protest, the idealistic Kollontai

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shared in the family economy. If one member of the household, perhaps a young son, fathered a child and then separated from the woman to whom he had been married, the alimony exacted from him—it might be a cow to help feed the child—meant a loss to the entire household since they all lived together. For peasant protests along this line, see excerpts from the discussion of the marriage code in the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the RSFSR, October 1925, as reprinted in "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 107–08. For further discussion of the new marriage code, see *Brak i Sem'ia: Sbornik Statei i Materialov, Molodaia Gvardiia* [Marriage and the Family: Collected Articles and Materials, Young Guard] (Moscow, 1926), 3–162.

<sup>24</sup> For report of a debate between Aaron Sol'ts and Nikolai Krylenko, see *Izvestiia*, Nov. 17, 1925. Another reason cited by those favoring recognition only of registered marriage was that to do otherwise would encourage church marriage, unrecognized since 1918. In the countryside, where unregistered marriage was seen as debauchery, opinion was said to be against the new proposal. Kursky, however, in a speech carried in *Izvestiia*, Nov. 1926, reported that young people in the villages were favoring the recognition of *de facto* marriage. Reprinted in Schlesinger, *Family in the U.S.S.R.*, 125–26. In a speech to the women's section of the party, Krylenko claimed that the regime had not anticipated the opposition the new law met. Jessica Smith, *Woman in Soviet Russia* (New York, 1928), 109.

<sup>25</sup> Krylenko as quoted in "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 93, 112.

<sup>26</sup> John Stuart Mill, "Early Essays on Marriage and Divorce," in Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, *Essays on Sex Equality*, ed. Alice Rossi (Chicago, 1971), 73.

resigned her diplomatic position and in 1925 contemplated a break with bolshevism. While close friends who served with her in the embassy disagreed as to the seriousness of her intention to leave the party, with Marcel Body advancing the theory and another friend denying it, it seems a possible explanation for Kollontai's rash political action in the winter of 1925–26 when she returned briefly to Moscow.<sup>27</sup> If she failed, she would break with the regime.

Studies of the opposition movement by Western historians suggest that Kollontai had abandoned protest by 1925, but the facts are otherwise. Upholding the revolutionary-heroic outlook of 1917 as though she had been neither censured nor exiled, Kollontai plunged at the end of 1925 into what would be her last struggle in behalf of the now virtually defunct revolutionary domestic program of 1919. Her effort, overlooked by historians because of its singularly independent nature—and its distance from the issues of the male power struggle—centered on opposition to the government's projected new marriage code.

Kollontai's analysis ran counter to the gloomy fears of workers in the women's section that with the adoption of NEP the possibility of a socialist solution to the woman question had been irrevocably lost. Kollontai believed rather that continued expansion of the private sector of the economy under the NEP would mean an eventual increase in employment opportunities for women and that growing government resources would make possible further investment in public facilities that would replace the individual household. Before offering a counterproposal, it was necessary first to explain why the regime's new family law was unacceptable in a society purporting to be socialist. She argued that rather than being a step forward, the proposal revealed the party's failure, after eight years in power, to evolve a socialist family policy: the government would be creating categories of women—registered, unregistered, and casual—and since the first two were now made equal in their rights, the third was necessarily deprived. The women the new law refused to defend were but peasant girls going to the city for work and working girls living in factories and shops in conditions of frightful congestion. Registered and unregistered wives, on the other hand, were being encouraged to abase themselves in court, begging for their legal sop from an unwilling man, probably too poor to pay.<sup>28</sup> She scoffed at the pointlessness of socialists defining marriage or seeking to strengthen it by legislation, as if by such means abandoned, unemployed women could be aided. In an approach radically different from that of those who agreed that alimony had failed but argued helplessly that the courts must find ways to enforce payment, Kollontai insisted that women who served society by providing it with future workers deserved collective support. Prior to NEP, Kollontai had proposed government protection for mothers in the form of state subsidies.<sup>29</sup> Discarding

<sup>27</sup> For Marcel Body's view, see his article, "Alexandra Kollontai," *Preuves*, 1952, supp. no. 14, pp. 17–19. Another close friend does not believe Body's contention that Kollontai wished to leave the party. Interview with a long-time friend of Kollontai's, Aug. 24, 1973, Moscow.

<sup>28</sup> Kollontai, "Brak i byt" [Marriage and Daily Life], *Rabochii Sud* [Workers' Court], 1926, no. 5, p. 371.

<sup>29</sup> Kollontai, *Sotsial'nye Osnovy Zhenskogo Voprosa*, 230.

the idea of direct state aid, Kollontai responded to the slower pace of NEP by proposing to abolish alimony and to create instead a General Insurance Fund to which the entire working adult population would contribute on a graduated scale, the lowest contribution being two rubles a year. With sixty million adult contributors one could count on an initial sum of one hundred and twenty million rubles, which would make it possible to provide for the cost of children's crèches and homes, homes for mothers in need, support to single mothers unable to work and for their children at least until they were a year old, later, according to the size of the fund, until they were three or four.<sup>30</sup> Soviet society was poor, but its economic growth in the mid-twenties was increasing at an impressive rate so that within two or three years the General Insurance Fund would no longer be a burden.

Kollontai's idiosyncratic proposal, springing from the romantic socialism of 1917 and the revolutionary era, was rejected by all but her own small group and youthful students; they invariably responded to Kollontai's optimistic theories, which kept alive hope that revolution still lived in Soviet Russia. "For us young communist women," a party worker recalled, "Kollontai was a lofty example of a revolutionary fighter, and we aspired to imitate her." Writing in *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, the newspaper for party youth, a student who claimed that most students supported Kollontai suggested, as a temporary means of strengthening the General Fund, a five-kopek tax on bottles of wine, theater tickets, and other amusements.<sup>31</sup>

Kollontai's right-wing critics implied that replacing alimony with an insurance fund was unfair to the peasant majority who, hostile to the towns, would never willingly pay an extra tax to benefit city women and children, while to compel payment would run counter to the new economic policy of lessening burdens on the peasantry. This argument was inconsistent since it was the peasants who opposed as immoral and a threat to their property the government's own proposal to recognize *de facto* marriages. In urging increased taxation, Kollontai seemed to the Right to be thinking along the lines of Trotsky and Evgeny Preobrazhensky, the economic spokesman of the Left, who argued for systematic pressure on the peasants. But the Left oppositionists sought economic support for more rapid industrialization, not social experiments, which Trotsky, speaking now as a reformist, regarded as premature. Trotsky referred later—presumably with Kollontai in mind—to experiments so radical that one would simply fall on one's face and be embarrassed before the peasantry.<sup>32</sup>

Kollontai's critics failed to understand that, while seeking ways to preserve revolutionary domestic goals, she was willing to modify her position to work

<sup>30</sup> Kollontai, "Obshchii kotel ili individual'nye alimenty?" [A Common Pot or Individual Alimony?], *Komsomolskaia Pravda* [Komsomol Truth], Feb. 2, 1926, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Party worker quoted in Itkina, *Revoliutsioner*, 203; "Obshchii kotel ili individual'nye alimenty?" (Otkliki na stat'iu tov. Kollontai) [A Common Pot or Individual Alimony? Responses to Comrade Kollontai's Article], *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, Mar. 21, 1926, p. 4.

<sup>32</sup> Leon Trotsky, "Okhrana materinstva i bor'ba za kul'turu" [Protection of Motherhood and the Struggle for Culture], in *Sochineniia* [Works] (Moscow, 1927), 21: 49. For Trotsky's view that the time was not yet ripe for thought-out schemes, initiated from above, see his *Voprosy Byta* [Problems of Everyday Life] (Moscow, 1923), 46.



within the reconciliatory context of Bukharinism, the party's official ideology in the mid-twenties. With the failure of revolution in the West, she had come to accept Bukharin's view of the need slowly to build socialism in one country.<sup>33</sup> She liked Bukharin, who at the age of thirty-eight was at the peak of his political influence and whose concept of a more humane socialism she shared. In the early prerevolutionary days they had frequently been allies, even as they had been opponents during the Workers' Opposition crisis in 1921. With Alexander Shliapnikov, the first commissar of labor and one of the few genuinely proletarian leaders of the party, Kollontai warned in 1921 about the dangers of "peasantization" of the government. But this did not mean that in 1926 she advocated the Left's position of accumulating capital for industrial expansion by extracting it forcibly from the peasant. The Right's contention that Kollontai's plan to tax the peasant at a rate of two rubles a year ran counter to government economic policy and resembled the pressures of the Left was an absurd exaggeration. Kollontai was simply in line with Bukharin in advocating some "pumping over" of economic resources from the peasant sector.<sup>34</sup>

For socialism to succeed—as Bukharin now contended—a long period of harmony between peasant and proletariat would have to be established. This "harmonizing" had consistently been Kollontai's purpose as well as the goal of the much-scorned women's section, which, since its inception, had worked to raise the socialist consciousness of peasant women. It is true that the women were only part of rural society, but as Lenin explained earlier, the Soviet Union could not exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat unless the women were won over.<sup>35</sup>

Another aspect of Kollontai's proposal, which she saw as a gesture of support for peasant women, was her plan for marriage contracts that were to safeguard the interests of housewives, both peasant and proletarian. By these contracts, a couple entering into a marital union would, instead of registering, voluntarily conclude an agreement in which they would determine their economic responsibilities toward each other and their children. A somewhat weak idea, which at first glance seems, in its revolutionary romanticism, to deserve the criticism it received, it assumed a herculean effort on the part of workers from the women's section who were somehow to teach backward peasant women how to safeguard their economic interests.<sup>36</sup> Yet it is necessary to keep in mind that Kollontai was thinking in long-range, socialist terms, trying to maintain a sense of left-wing revolutionary purpose within a right-wing evolutionary structure.

The assumption on which Kollontai's proposals were based—collective

<sup>33</sup> Stephen F. Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* (New York, 1973), 233; Moscow interview.

<sup>34</sup> Cohen, *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution*, 174.

<sup>35</sup> See Kollontai, *Rabotnitsa i Krestianka*, 19; Zetkin, *Reminiscences*, 53–57.

<sup>36</sup> Kollontai, "Brak i byt," 373. Kollontai suggested that out of the approximately five million babies born in the Soviet Union each year, perhaps a million would not be provided for by the marriage contracts and be in need of government support. Her marriage contract idea was called unrealistic by Smidovich, "Otmenit' li registratsiiu braka i sistemu alimentov" [Whether to Change Registration of Marriage and



responsibility for those in need—aimed specifically at an increased socialist awareness among both peasant and proletarian. Trotsky argued that the state could not build new social institutions without cooperation from the masses, that the people themselves had to grow.<sup>37</sup> This was a valid position, but how else could socialist awareness be created other than by the party's gradual but steady introduction of socialist measures? The need for such ideological persuasion was underscored by the reaction to Kollontai's plan as seen in letters from working women. "Comrade Kollontai's tax is altogether unsatisfactory. . . . How can anyone speak of a general taxation of all men? What is it to do with *all* men, when only *one* man is concerned in the begetting of a child? What affair is it of the community? The matter is far simpler; if you are the father, you must pay!"<sup>38</sup>

Even Trotsky, curiously insensitive to the Thermidorian aspects of the government's new marriage code, was indignant at its opponents: how could one think that in Soviet society anyone could be so thickheaded as to deny a mother the right to help from the father simply because the woman was not a registered wife; women needed all the protection they could get. Describing Soviet marriage legislation as socialist in spirit, Trotsky regretted that society lagged so dismally behind it.<sup>39</sup> Society did lag; so, too, did party leaders.

Trotsky shared a view of women that caused him to praise as socialist the legislation Kollontai condemned as petty bourgeois. Nor was his perception "un-Marxist." Once, in a lighthearted moment, Karl Marx filled out a so-called confession for his daughter Laura revealing his strongest preferences. He wrote that the virtue he admired most in men was "strength." The virtue he admired most in women? "Weakness."<sup>40</sup> Both Marx and Engels believed that the weak must be protected from the strong. Men must protect women. This theme ran through the debates over the new family code, jeopardizing the socialist assumption that the collective should provide social security for its members. The Bolsheviks believed in equality for women, of course, but

the System of Alimony], *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, Feb. 14, 1926, p. 2. For further criticism, see E. Lavrov, "Polovoi vopros i Molodezh'" [The Sexual Problem and Youth], *Molodaia Gvardiia* [Young Guard], Mar. 1926, no. 3, p. 145.

<sup>37</sup> Trotsky, "Protiv Prosveshchennogo Biurokratizma (A takzhe i neprosveshchennogo)" [Against Bureaucracy, Progressive and Unprogressive], in *Sochineniia*, 21: 71–72.

<sup>38</sup> Quoted in Fannina Halle, *Woman in Soviet Russia* (London, 1933), 123. Another letter from a group of working women asked, "Why should a deserted mother become a burden on society?" It urged a system of alimony: "For if once a man has succeeded in fooling a woman . . . then he should pay. . . . He will take care to avoid another time." One factory group wrote that if Comrade Kollontai's tax were introduced, then men would lose all shame and universal license would be the result. *Ibid.*, 124, 122. For the Russian version of these letters, see *Brak i Sem'ia*, 143–44.

<sup>39</sup> Trotsky, "Okhrana materinstva i bor'ba za kul'turu" and "Kul'tura i Sotsializm" [Culture and Socialism], in *Sochineniia*, 21: 50, 434. Emilian Iaroslavskii expressed identical views in his "Moral' i byt proletariata v perekhodnyi period" [Morality and Daily Life of the Proletariat in the Transitional Era], *Molodaia Gvardiia*, May 1926, no. 3, pp. 15–151. Supporters of the marriage law liked to picture its opponents, in Krylenko's words, as Philistines. Krylenko argued that Soviet policy was moving toward economic and political equality of the sexes despite opposition from Philistines and peasants. Krylenko's arguments in favor of the new marriage law, "Obyvatel' nastupaet" [The Philistine Advances], *Pravda*, Jan. 15, 1926, are quoted in Trotsky, *Sochineniia*, 21: 514n.

<sup>40</sup> From "Confession," a manuscript by Marx's daughter printed in Erich Fromm, *Marx's Concept of Man* (New York, 1962), 257.

few understood that phrase with Kollontai's sensitivity. While not politically a feminist, she did share their view that women were inherently strong and needed freedom from the debilitating protection of men. She singled out Trotsky—a risky thing to do in 1926 when he was under attack from the Stalinists—as being of great help to the women's section in its work.<sup>41</sup> Yet not even Trotsky—and if I seem to concentrate on him it is because of the degree of his concern and commitment—understood that her plan was an opportunity for the party to raise the consciousness of the masses further toward socialism.

On this issue the women's section proved no more monolithic than other Bolshevik institutions. Here, too, Kollontai found opponents. Smidovich, the section's former director, willingly spoke for the party. Chosen in 1925 as a member of the powerful Central Control Commission, living comfortably enough in a traditional family, she was reasonably free of tensions concerning the woman question. While Kollontai viewed the revolution primarily from the perspective of women's liberation, Smidovich regarded that problem as one among many. The two Old Bolsheviks, each age fifty-four, saw themselves as representing different constituencies, a fact that in itself proved a cause for suspicion. Smidovich, gray haired and grandmotherly, spoke as a member of an older, more staid generation that wanted to protect women from the sexual irresponsibility of men, a problem to which Kollontai seemed indifferent. Kollontai gazed, strikingly attractive and still youthful, from the cover of the popular magazine, *Ekran*, in whose pages she argued on behalf of socialist women who were strong and wanted to be free.<sup>42</sup> In contrast to Kollontai's unquenchable idealism, Smidovich sounded practical as she affirmed the theoretical superiority of communal raising of children but defended the party's abandonment of efforts to replace the individual household. Her hostility toward Kollontai unconcealed, Smidovich argued that Soviet Russia could not yet afford Kollontai's dreams.<sup>43</sup> The Smidoviches were conservative, and Petr Smidovich, a senior member of the Moscow Committee of the Bolshevik party, responded on the eve of 1917 to Lenin's radical course by insisting: "There do not exist the forces, the objective conditions for this."<sup>44</sup>

THE LEADERS STRUGGLING FOR POWER in 1926 knew that the woman question was not politically decisive. Kollontai's plan to replace alimony by a general

<sup>41</sup> Kollontai, *Autobiography*, 42.

<sup>42</sup> *Ekran* [Screen], 1926, no. 5.

<sup>43</sup> See Smidovich's conversation to Smith, in Smith, *Woman in Soviet Russia*, 102–03; Smidovich, "O novom kodekse zakonov o brake i sem'e," 45–46; and her "Nashi zadachi v oblasti pereustroistva byta," 22–24. Smidovich argued that homes for mothers and children were too expensive for the state to carry, and she recommended local initiative on the part of working women to establish less expensive communal facilities such as day nurseries. She criticized the attitude of those who believed that the liberation of working women must come only from the strength and money of the state. It is difficult to determine the amount of real support for Kollontai in the women's section, since Smidovich may have exerted considerable influence because of her position on the Central Control Commission. But judging by the articles that did appear in *Kommunistka*, support was not widespread. Varvara Golubeva was one of the few voices in opposition to the new marriage law. "K diskussii po voprosam brachnogo i semeinogo prava" [Toward a Discussion of the Marriage and Family Law], *Kommunistka*, 1926, no. 1, pp. 50–53.

<sup>44</sup> As quoted in Cohen, *Bukharin*, 50.



Fig. 3. A. M. Kollontai (in top row center) with children at a day care center in 1919 during the civil war.  
From Kollontai, *Iz Moei Zhizni i Raboty*.

fund, based on a progressive tax, was simply further evidence of her Left deviation. Part of the tragedy of bolshevism in the formative mid-twenties was that immediate pressures could so easily erode original hopes. Staunch revolutionaries—not yet broken or become Stalinist servants—were too ready to abandon the ideal and grasp the expedient solution. More specific a cause was the ambivalence with which the party in 1919 had adopted the woman question as a programmatic goal. Too few people were committed to its success. And among them were those like Sophia Smidovich and Trotsky, who for all their socialism, were unaware that they continued to think of women as in need of male protection. Habits of thought, even among revolutionaries, change slowly.

Some historians, notably E. H. Carr, suggest that the government's abandonment in 1922 of its original plan to support needy mothers and children indicates that those early steps had never been more than emergency legislation evolving spontaneously only to be discarded by the party with other features of war communism. Such an interpretation, insofar as it suggests a lack of a theoretical base, is misleading. Kollontai, who was chosen by Lenin as commissar of public welfare in 1917, in which office she could do little more with her meager resources than express aspirations, had for years been advocating measures of state protection that were based on commonly assumed socialist theory.<sup>45</sup> Insofar as Carr implies an inadequate commitment on the part of Bolsheviks to orthodox socialist assumptions or a variety of Bolshevik interpretations of social theory, his position, of course, is valid. Reporting in 1922 to the Eleventh Party Congress, Lenin remarked suggestively that "the economic forces under the control of the proletarian state of Russia are quite sufficient to ensure the transition to communism. What then is lacking? What is lacking is culture in the stratum of Communists that is governing." Elsewhere Lenin observed that many comrades were still "Philistines" in their mentality regarding women.<sup>46</sup>

Carr contends further that by the mid-twenties, the party membership had rejected Kollontai's position on the family, that it was already diverging in "practice and opinion" from Engel's doctrine on which it was based: the liberation of women from domestic labor. Carr cites Trotsky's symposium for party workers in 1923 as a source to illustrate a desire for traditional life.<sup>47</sup> More accurately, the symposium revealed the conflict between the conventional family attitudes of men and the desire for greater freedom on the part of women.<sup>48</sup>

Was it not a case of failure of the leadership to respond to a slowly

<sup>45</sup> E. H. Carr, *Socialism in One Country* (Baltimore, 1970), 1: 39–40. The term "war communism" refers to the policies of the era of civil war, 1918–21. Many radical measures adopted during this period, such as labor conscription and forced requisitioning of grain from the peasants, were ended with the NEP; Carr himself cites Marx and Engels to the effect that women must be relieved of domestic care through the institution of communal dining halls and nurseries. *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>46</sup> Lenin, *Sochineniia* (4th ed.; Moscow, 1951), 33: 258. For Lenin's observation concerning attitudes toward women, see Zetkin, *Reminiscences*, 56.

<sup>47</sup> Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, 1: 43.

<sup>48</sup> Trotsky, *Voprosy Byta*, 84–88.

awakening sense among women of the possibilities inherent in Engel's theories, as elaborated by Kollontai in 1920 in *The Family and the Communist State*? Trotsky regretted in 1923 and again in 1925 that the woman question was not being given greater attention in the press and elsewhere.<sup>49</sup> Many men no doubt preferred the traditional family, but many women eagerly awaited fulfillment of the promises of party workers from the women's section who, recognizing the growing response to their efforts, could do little about the lack of government support for social institutions but express distress and frustration in the pages of *Kommunistka*. Where "officially" but in the clubs, lamented a woman worker, could one even summon the collective spirit? The overcrowded factory barracks, the overflowing communal houses, and the inadequate public dining rooms were not likely to win people over to the collective way of life.<sup>50</sup>

OPPOSITION TO KOLLONTAI SUGGESTS that in fact she had raised a specter: the "withering away of the family." If in the West this concept was seen as a Communist truism, for the Soviet leadership, concerned mainly with politics and economics not with social experiments, what was soon to be known as Kollontai's idea had become an irritant.<sup>51</sup> The party knew in 1926 that it needed the family, meaning the women, to do what they had always done—raise children, cook, and keep house. So when Kursky, citing Lenin, gave assurances that someday under communism the state would undertake the upbringing of all children, when Smidovich agreed but insisted that for now "destruction of the isolated, individual household," useful as a slogan to rally women in 1918, was not applicable, when Mikhail Kalinin, chairman of the Central Executive Committee, referred to the new marriage law as deeply affecting Soviet life, seeming to assume the permanence of the family it protected, one sensed that for the government the "withering away" concept had become a socialist myth.<sup>52</sup> In the women's section it remained a reality.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 81, and Trotsky, "Okhrana Materinstva i bor'ba za Kul'turu," 55.

<sup>50</sup> Z. Rakitina, "Byt po zametkam rabotnits." [The Way of Life According to Notes of Working Women], *Kommunistka*, 1926, no. 12, pp. 32-36. Letters from working women to the journal, *Rabotnitsa* [The Woman Worker], quoted in these pages in *Kommunistka* suggest their eagerness for social change. The enthusiasm of working women for child care institutions and for the work of clubs trying to raise their political and social level is also documented.

<sup>51</sup> The concept itself had been left vague by Marx and Engels, as Lenin explained when he chided Kollontai in 1919 for assuming prematurely to specify the future form of the socialist family. The Eighth Party Congress rejected incorporating in its new program Kollontai's proposals concerning the future disappearance of the individual, isolated family—proposals that she suggested despite Lenin's prior objection. Itkina, *Revoliutsioner*, 208. In her recollections, Kollontai refers to her proposals being rejected but also to her victory in getting passed a resolution concerning the need for the party to work more specifically among women. "Avtobiograficheskii Oчерk," 301.

<sup>52</sup> For Kursky's remarks, see "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 91; for Smidovich, "O Novom Kodekse zakonov o brake i sem'e," 46; for Kalinin, "Discussion of the Draft of the Code," 119. It is of interest that the 1918 legislation on the family had provisions for state care of dependents that were omitted from the 1926 legislation. For example, the section stating that parents were obliged to provide board and maintenance for their minor children, if they were in need and unable to work, was followed by a notation that the parental obligations here stated were to be suspended in the event of the children being maintained by public or governmental care. This notation was not included in the 1926 legislation. Similarly in 1918 it was stated that children were obliged to provide maintenance for needy parents unable to work unless the latter were to receive maintenance from the government in accord with the law of insurance against illness.



But instead of the family, the women's section itself would disappear, abolished by Stalin in 1929 on the specious ground that its tasks had been completed. In less than ten years, the slogan "withering away of the family" was to move from myth to heresy with Kollontai's *The Family and the Communist State* cited as its "undoubtedly harmful" source.<sup>53</sup>

In the moral and personal disapproval directed against Kollontai one saw further mythmaking. Although she criticized debauchery in terms similar to those used earlier by Lenin (but at the same time, questioned the supposed dissoluteness of Komsomol youth),<sup>54</sup> slashing attacks in the press accused Kollontai of trying to revive her "discredited" advocacy of Ultra-Left, decadent, free love by means of the General Insurance Fund, which would further encourage youthful irresponsibility.<sup>55</sup> The Komsomol journal, *Molodaia Gvardiia*, which had carried Kollontai's essays in 1923, now reflected the party's puritanical line by printing articles harshly critical of her. In one instance the editors were perhaps uneasy over publishing an attack on a comrade who invariably defended Soviet youth. In a footnote that implied their apartness from the assault, they invited readers to express their own viewpoints based on available, factual materials.<sup>56</sup>

With the contention that alimony was one of the best means to regulate and to restrain sexual life, with the charge that in advocating its abolition Kollontai was seeking to remove personal responsibility from the sexual life of men, Kollontai's critics suggested the development of new attitudes toward privacy. In 1883 the German Socialist leader, August Bebel, wrote that satisfaction of the sexual instinct was a private concern to be interfered with by no one.<sup>57</sup> Presumably, assigning legal consequences to *de facto* marriage was in itself a violation of personal privacy, but even before 1926 doubts were expressed in the party as to the feasibility of Bebel's assumption. Bukharin's attempt in 1922 to use his personal popularity with the Komsomols to urge

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old age, or social security. This proviso was omitted in 1926. See the text of the 1926 legislation in Schlesinger, *Family in the U.S.S.R.*, 163; compare with the 1918 family law, *ibid.*, 40. Further indication that the state was moving away from assuming the burdens of the family was given in 1924 when Aleksei Rykov, chairman of the Council of Commissars, attacked the idea of children's homes as obviously inadequate and also unwise since they separated the child from productive labor. Carr, *Socialism in One Country*, 1: 45.

<sup>53</sup> See V. Svetlov, "Socialist Society and the Family," *Pod Znamenem Marksizma* [Under the Banner of Marxism], 1936, no. 6, translated and reprinted in Schlesinger, *Family in the U.S.S.R.*, 333. S. Volfson, renouncing as erroneous his thesis published in 1929 that socialism entailed the extinction of the family, now wrote that "assertions that socialism leads to the extinction of the family are profoundly mistaken and harmful." This renunciation is found in his "Socialism and the Family," in *ibid.*, 315.

<sup>54</sup> Kollontai, "Brak i byt," 375-76.

<sup>55</sup> For the most complete attack on Kollontai, see Lavrov, "Polovoi vopros i Molodezh'," 145. Calling Kollontai's statements an example of precisely the wrong kind of thinking, Lavrov accused her of trying in 1926, with her idea for abolishing alimony, to take revenge for the attacks on her sexual theories in 1923. The reference is to Kollontai's article, "Dorogu Krylatomy Erosu!" [To the Winged Eros!], *Molodaia Gvardiia*, 1923, no. 3, pp. 111-24, and her novella, "Loves of Three Generations," which appeared in the collection, *Liubov pchel trydovykh* [Love of the Worker Bees], tr. Lilly Lore (Moscow, 1923), 180-243. The notion that alimony acted as a restraint on the conduct of men was echoed in a letter to *Komsomolskaia Pravda*, Mar. 21, 1926, p. 4.

<sup>56</sup> Lavrov, "Polovoi vopros i Molodezh'," 136.

<sup>57</sup> August Bebel, *Die Frau in der Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft* (Zurich, 1883), tr. by Daniel De Leon as *Woman under Socialism* (New York, 1971), 343.



youth to a more controlled sex life is one example.<sup>58</sup> Polina Vinogradskaia, a young Trotskyist who worked with Kollontai on *Kommunistka*, moved in a similar way when she viciously condemned Kollontai in 1923 as a bourgeois feminist who wasted pages of Soviet journals with articles extolling sexuality. The editors of *Krasnaia Nov'* were unhappy enough to apologize in print for this cruel attack on a "fighting comrade." Vinogradskaia affirmed socialist privacy but at the same time insisted, in a novel tribute to Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, that it was absolutely "inadmissible" for a Bolshevik to dwell on sex in view of the political setback of the Communist party in Germany.<sup>59</sup> Giving assurances that someday under communism there would be no need for moral laws, Emilian Iaroslavskii, a Stalinist and a leading figure in the party's Central Control Commission, warned that it was for bourgeois not proletarian youth to flit from flower to flower indulging in Kollontai's "love of the worker bees." In fact, Iaroslavskii recalled, for eight or nine years he sat in prison and sexual abstinence had done him no harm.<sup>60</sup>

What caused this violation of privacy by Bolsheviks who simultaneously asserted their belief in the socialist promise of complete freedom in personal life? Invariably we have the answer: this is the transitional era. The poverty of Soviet society, the homeless children, and the need for the responsible family during the twenties were serious factors; yet there seems another explanation for the avidity with which party members relegated privacy to mythology. The founder of the Marx-Lenin Institute, David Riazanov—a Bolshevik of integrity and something of an eccentric in his penchant for speaking the truth bluntly—declared during the debates of 1926 what other comrades had merely suggested: "We should teach our young Komsomols that marriage is not a personal act, but an act of deep social significance, demanding interference and regulation by society."<sup>61</sup> Riazanov implied that in fact the party aimed at a science of human behavior.

Again, why? What was there in Russian bolshevism that impelled it as a movement to turn away from less restrictive European socialism? In a suggestive analysis, the social scientist Nathan Leites provides a clue when he refers to Bolshevik fear of loss of control.<sup>62</sup> In the rhetoric of attack against Kollontai, from Smidovich, through Iaroslavskii, to Vinogradskaia, there occurred over and over words like "irresponsibility" and "debauchery," which implied lack

<sup>58</sup> *I' Ussrassitskii S'ezd RKSM* (Moscow, 1927), 114, 124–25.

<sup>59</sup> Polina Vinogradskaia, "Voprosy morali, pola, byta, i tov. Kollontai" [Questions of Morality, Sex, Daily Life, and Comrade Kollontai], *Krasnaia Nov'* [Red Virgin Soil], 1923, no. 6, p. 190. For the apology to Kollontai, see *ibid.*, no. 7, p. 306.

<sup>60</sup> Iaroslavskii, "Moral' i byt proletariata v perekhodnyi period," 150. Without using Kollontai's name, Iaroslavskii referred to the collection of stories by Kollontai with that title. The distortions concerning her views were so widespread that her titles alone had come to signify debauchery.

<sup>61</sup> As quoted by an observer at the meeting, in Smith, *Woman in Soviet Russia*, 117. Riazanov insists that even in the Communist future there would be registration of marriage, but it would then be regarded as an obligation as natural as the obligation to work. His views are explained in his "Marks i Engels o brake i sem'e," 34–35. That same year, 1927, the views of party leaders concerning personal morality were published in Izrail Razin, ed., *Komsomolskii byt* [Everyday Life for Komsomols] (Moscow, 1927). Bukharin, Lunacharsky, and Iaroslavskii were among the many who advocated greater sexual restraint—the orthodox party view.

<sup>62</sup> Nathan Leites, *A Study of Bolshevism* (Glencoe, Ill., 1953), 186.

of order. In privacy there lurked the possibility that youth, expending its energy in sexual excess, might cease to work purposefully for the party.

Ironically, but in reality, work as the ultimate liberating force for women forms a persistent theme in Kollontai's own writing. She applauded the labor conscription that characterized the civil war years. Her projected commune, alarming to the party because of its suggestion of freer, less conventional marriage patterns, appears really to be a somewhat rigid, work-oriented institution. Years before Freud theorized about conflicts between sexuality and work Kollontai had intuited the same dilemma for the socialist commune.<sup>63</sup> Unlike Fourier's phalanstery where individuals would fulfill themselves in passion, Kollontai's people, although sexually free, would relegate sex to a second place—while on the rock of collective work they would build the new society. While Kollontai's collective seemed alarmingly loose to most Bolsheviks, Herbert Marcuse used it as but another example of Soviet repression.<sup>64</sup>

Kollontai's singular position derived from her emphasis, unique to bolshevism, in fusing sex and work. Yet where in Kollontai's collective was privacy? The loving couple, absorbed primarily in each other, would not be welcome. In rejecting this individual preference, Kollontai suggests that within the libertarian there dwelled something of the authoritarian. The ambiguity remained but it was of no interest to a regime intent in 1926 on crushing Kollontai's left-wing, social deviance.

PERHAPS THE INTENSE EXPERIENCE of renewed party criticism, reminding Kollontai of the depressing days that followed the failure of the Workers' Opposition, had the countereffect of keeping her within the party. Thoroughly socialized, she dreaded the contempt of her comrades. She thought of another woman who had left Russia, Angelica Balabanoff, the first secretary of the Communist International, who broke with bolshevism in 1921. Kollontai knew she could not bear the vilification that had been directed against Balabanoff.<sup>65</sup> Her sense of identity with Balabanoff suggests that Kollontai saw herself not so much as a Bolshevik leader but as a Bolshevik woman. One wonders if this perception was general, if antagonism toward an aggressive female played a part in negative attitudes toward Kollontai and her theories, if a woman became more vulnerable when she invaded the masculine provinces where Bolshevik policies were determined. Certain episodes are suggestive. In April 1917 only Kollontai supported Lenin's opposition to working

<sup>63</sup> Freud analyzed the problem in 1930 in his *Civilization and Its Discontents* (New York, 1930), 56–57. For Kollontai's glorification of work conscription that existed during the war communism era and her view that it was the best hope for women's true liberation, see her *Polozhenie Zhenshchiny v Evoliutsii Khoziaistva* [The Position of Women in Connection with the Development of the Economy] (Moscow, 1923), 152, 166. For suggestions as to the primary place work, rather than love, would have in the proposed commune, see "Brak i byt," 376. Elsewhere, however, Kollontai suggests that love was for her a source of energy. *Autobiography*, 22.

<sup>64</sup> For Herbert Marcuse's view, see his *Soviet Marxism* (New York, 1961), 233–34.

<sup>65</sup> Body, "Alexandra Kollontai," 17.

with Russia's provisional government, and the fact was regarded as amusing enough to be the subject of a popular jingle.<sup>66</sup> In 1921 not even Lenin was above making a snide reference at the Tenth Party Congress to Kollontai's private life.<sup>67</sup> Intimations that Kollontai was overaggressive could always produce a laugh from assembled Communists: an Amazon, Trotsky called her, a Valkyrie, added Karl Radek, secretary of the Comintern. Stalin had no use for intellectual women in the party, calling them "herrings with ideas."<sup>68</sup>

BY EARLY SUMMER OF 1926, sensing that she had used the last of her emotional resources and deeply disheartened by divisions in the party, Kollontai abandoned not only the fantasy of an independent life but the very self who more than once had boldly opposed Lenin. As Stalin prepared to crush the opposition, Kollontai for the first time became cautious. Reflecting an awareness of the narrowing of party attitudes, she revised a brief autobiography so as not to seem an advocate of a radicalism that opposed the Stalinists.<sup>69</sup> Claiming privately that she wanted most to live freely as a writer, she clung instead to familiar authority.<sup>70</sup> She agreed with much of the criticism the Trotskyists were directing against repression in the party, but in the summer of 1926 when Trotsky's emissaries came seeking her support, they came in vain. Despite her friendship with oppositionists like Christian Rakovsky, a member of the Central Committee and the ambassador to France, who chided her for not joining them, her attitude toward Trotsky himself was ambivalent. For his concern with the woman question she was grateful; but how could she believe that Trotsky in power would alter the mood that Stalin was brutally imposing, be more tolerant of disagreement? An authoritarian Trotsky, together with Grigory Zinoviev, the chairman of the Communist International, had ensured defeat of her appeal to the Comintern four years earlier in behalf of intraparty dissent.<sup>71</sup> In the end, the leaders in both camps failed her, neither side able to understand her attempt to supply much-needed evidence to

<sup>66</sup> "Lenin Chto tam ni boltai. Soglasna s nim lish' Kollontai" [No matter what Lenin babbles, only Kollontai agrees with him]. Kollontai, "Avtobiograficheskii Ocherk," 296.

<sup>67</sup> *X S"ezda Rossiiskoi Kommunisticheskoi Partii (8-16 Marta 1921 g.) Stenograficheskii Otchet* (Petrograd, 1921), 48. Lenin implied that Kollontai had resumed her former liaison with the commissar of labor, Alexander Shliapnikov. This was particularly awkward because Kollontai was married to Pavel Dybenko, also in the Soviet government.

<sup>68</sup> Trotsky and Karl Radek as quoted in *Tretii Vsemirnyi Kongress Kommunisticheskogo Internatsionala Stenograficheskii Otchet* (Petrograd, 1922), 372; Stalin as quoted in Svetlana Alliluyeva, *Only One Year* (New York, 1969), 381.

<sup>69</sup> Kollontai wrote to Elga Kern, editor of the series, *Leading Women of Europe*, apologizing for the extensive revisions she had made in her manuscript. It could not be otherwise, she explained. The changes had to be made because she was an "official person." Since her revisions were so drastic, Kollontai offered to bear the cost of any additional expenses they might cause. This letter, dated July 19, 1926, appears as a center insert in Kollontai, *Autobiographie Einer Sexuell Emanzipierten Kommunistin* (Munich, 1970). It is omitted in the English edition, thus allowing for a somewhat disingenuous introduction speculating as to why the revisions were made.

<sup>70</sup> Michael Futrell, *Northern Underground* (New York, 1963), 113-14.

<sup>71</sup> After her exile, in part to disassociate herself from the supporters of Trotsky, Kollontai sent to the party archives letters written by Lenin during the prerevolutionary period. Some passages, highly critical of Trotsky, were later used as part of the campaign to discredit him. But Lev Kamenev, who edited the first edition of these letters, omitted the most damaging words. "What a swine that Trotsky." See Lenin to

disillusioned Soviet youth that the regime, despite the NEP, still worked toward socialism.

Kollontai's refusal to join the Trotskyists did not improve her position in the party; for daring to question its socialist commitment, for calling its new family legislation bourgeois, Kollontai still had to be punished. In the autumn of 1926 she was sent into even more distant exile in Mexico City. Her decision in 1927 publicly to denounce opposition may have had its impetus in anxiety to get out of Mexico, but it was also the price for remaining in the party, her only home. As the Left oppositionists were expelled in 1927, Kollontai openly condemned them in the pages of *Pravda*. Resentment against Trotsky and Zinoviev made the task easier. Her words ring with helpless anger: the masses do not trust the opposition. Does the opposition think the memory of the masses so short that the masses cannot recall that the oppositionists themselves helped build the defects they now attack? She renounced not only opposition but spontaneity—declaring that in the masses a collective will had matured to triumph over the spontaneous individualism necessary during the civil war but no longer needed now in a time of collective construction.<sup>72</sup> In joining the leadership in mythmaking, she was also stifling the diversity that prevailed in the early revolutionary era when in the name of Marxism innumerable ideas and alternatives to Stalinism flourished. Her sexual and communal theories ceased to appear in Soviet journals.

Publicly accepting Stalinism, choosing to support its myths, meant becoming a person of secret pain, affirming among much that she knew to be untrue the boast that Soviet women, liberated from bourgeois roles, had achieved the socialist goal. Advancements in communal child care facilities and aid to mothers were made under Stalin—most notably in 1944—but from motives other than those promulgated initially by the women's section when the "withering away of the family" was a premise. Women were needed in the work force after 1929 in connection with the five-year plans—hence the day care centers. But they were also being encouraged to have large families, which meant a less public role and a continuation of men in positions of power.<sup>73</sup>

Abolition of the Zhenotdel in 1929 and the condemnation of Kollontai's interpretation of the woman question coincided with the Stalin revolution. Using the party and the secret police, Stalin inaugurated a full totalitarian state system marked by an end to NEP, the onset of coercive industrialization and the terroristic collectivization of peasant farming. Should we conclude that Stalin, the dominant force in the party, led the opposition to Zhenotdel? Not necessarily. More likely he shared in prevailing attitudes among the leadership that ranged from insensitivity to antipathy. As a final humiliation,

Kollontai, Feb. 17, 1917, in *Leninskii Sbornik* [Lenin Miscellany] (Moscow, 1924), 2: 282. Compare this letter with the complete version that appears in Olga H. Gankin and H. H. Fisher, *The Bolsheviks and the World War: The Origin of the Third International* (Stanford, 1940), 576.

<sup>72</sup> Kollontai, "Oppozitsiia i partiinaia massa" [The Opposition and the Party Rank and File], *Pravda*, Oct. 30, 1927.

<sup>73</sup> Alliluyeva, *Only One Year*, 381.



*Fig. 4. Kollontai in 1952, the year of her death. She was eighty years old.  
From Kollontai, *Iz Moei Zhizni i Raboty*.*

Kollontai wrote in 1946 that the Soviet state “had provided women with access to all areas of creative activity and at the same time provided all the necessary conditions to enable her to fulfill her natural duty as mother, educating her own children, as mistress of her own home.”<sup>74</sup>

By the irony of history, the very failure of the socialist promise of full equality, its conversion to myth, seems a factor saving Kollontai from the deadly fate of other Old Bolsheviks. The myth needed its symbols: Kollontai, deprived of any influence in the party, served in Sweden as the world’s first woman ambassador. And Stalin, who had spoken contemptuously of Lenin during his last illness as being “surrounded by womenfolk,”<sup>75</sup> may have enjoyed keeping alive, and subjecting to terror, the abject Kollontai—an indication that he did not believe Bolshevik women were important enough to shoot.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Kollontai, “Sovetskaia Zhenshchina—Polnopravnaia Grazhdanka Svoei Strany” [The Soviet Woman—A Citizen with Full Rights in Her Own Country], in her *Izbrannye Stat'i i Rechi*, 378.

<sup>75</sup> Stalin quoted in Robert H. McNeal, *Bride of the Revolution: Krupskaya and Lenin* (Ann Arbor, 1972), 245.

<sup>76</sup> Roy Medvedev writes of the humiliation and terror Old Bolsheviks like Kollontai were subjected to but kept alive in his *Let History Judge: The Origins and Consequences of Stalinism*, tr. Colleen Taylor, ed. David Joravsky and Georges Haupt (New York, 1971), 200. Like Krupskaya, Kollontai was a useful symbol. A Moscow friend recalled that when Kollontai returned to Moscow during her last years in the late forties she was regarded as an “internal exile”; friends kept away, afraid to visit the old woman. This same man, who spoke of Kollontai’s close friend, Elena Stasova, another Old Bolshevik, as also isolated from the party, attributes their survival in part to the fact that they were women. Moscow interview. Robert Daniels suggests that it was a streak of Georgian chivalry that kept Stalin from purging Old Bolshevik oppositionists Kollontai and Nikolaeva. *The Conscience of the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), 389. I think, rather, that it was Stalin’s contempt for women more than his supposed chivalry that enabled these two former oppositionists to survive. Stalin, of course, did not hesitate to purge the wives of Bolsheviks. And there may be one notable exception to the survival of oppositionist women. Medvedev writes that Varvara Iakovleva, an oppositionist in 1918 who was forced to testify against Bukharin in 1939, was later shot. *Let History Judge*, 181. Robert Conquest reported that Iakovleva supposedly survived until 1944. *The Great Terror* (New York, 1968), 400.



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## Critical Election Theory and the Reality of American Presidential Politics, 1916–40

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ALLAN J. LICHTMAN

IN 1957 WILLIAM L. LANGER, president of the American Historical Association, exhorted his fellow historians to enrich their discipline with insights drawn from social science theory.<sup>1</sup> The “new historians” of recent years have sought to follow this advice. The work of such scholars as Robert W. Fogel, John Demos, and Paul Kleppner is guided not only by the traditional historiographic principles of common sense, honest presentation, and individual inspiration but also by formal models of man and society drawn from other disciplines.<sup>2</sup> The trend toward interdisciplinary history is particularly evident in the analysis of American elections. Models of electoral stability and change—termed “critical election theory”—have dominated recent attempts to study political contests in the United States. First sketched out by V. O. Key, Jr. in a pioneering study published in 1955, critical election theory has since been refined by such political scientists as Angus Campbell, Gerald Pomper, and Walter Dean Burnham.<sup>3</sup>

Using both quantitative and traditional methods, this study applies critical election theory to presidential contests from 1916 to 1940. Focusing on the Smith-Hoover encounter of 1928, it reinterprets electoral politics during these years. The study also questions the logical and empirical validity of critical election theory and argues for a broader vision of electoral change and stability in the United States.

Critical election theory rests on the premise that American electoral history

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<sup>1</sup> William L. Langer, “The Next Assignment,” *AHR*, 63 (1958): 283–304.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Robert W. Fogel, *Railroads and American Economic Growth* (Baltimore, 1964); John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970); Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics, 1850–1900* (New York, 1970).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, V. O. Key, Jr., “A Theory of Critical Elections,” *Journal of Politics*, 17 (1955): 3–18; Angus Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter* (New York, 1960), 331–35; Gerald Pomper, “Classification of Presidential Elections,” *Journal of Politics*, 29 (1967): 535–66; Walter Dean Burnham, *Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics* (New York, 1970); Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen, eds., *Electoral Change and Stability in American Political History* (New York, 1971).

follows a regular pattern of discontinuous change. Long stretches of stability in the balance of power between competing parties and in the types of voters those parties tend to attract are punctuated periodically by drastic realignments of the American electorate. Key suggested that particular elections—termed “critical” or “realigning elections”—constitute the transitions between stable phases of the voting cycle. Critical elections disrupt the continuity of previous electoral eras and initiate new eras of stability characterized by new balances of party power and reconstituted voter coalitions. Later theorists have modified Key’s model by introducing the concept of critical or realigning eras. Most authorities would now agree that realignments of the American electorate may appear not only in a single critical election but also in a critical era encompassing several elections.<sup>4</sup>

The search for critical elections of the twentieth century has centered on the confrontation between Al Smith and Herbert Hoover. Key’s article of 1955 on discontinuous electoral change cited the presidential election of 1928 as an example of a critical election.<sup>5</sup> This categorization of the contest of 1928 supports the conventional wisdom of the “Al Smith Revolution.” Writing in 1952, Samuel Lubell argued that Al Smith’s candidacy revolutionized American politics by establishing a new and persisting electoral division between urban and rural America. “The Republican hold on the cities,” Lubell proclaimed, “was broken not by Roosevelt but by Alfred E. Smith. Before the Roosevelt Revolution there was an Al Smith Revolution.”<sup>6</sup>

Historians have proposed that the realignments of 1928 reflected social change in the United States. Such distinguished scholars as Lubell, Richard Hofstadter, Paul A. Carter, William E. Leuchtenburg, and Andrew Sinclair have contended that the presidential election of 1928 tapped a fundamental division between an “old” and a “new” America that incorporated into a single dimension conflicts between drys and wets, natives and immigrants, Protestants and Catholics, city dwellers and country folk. Despite Hoover’s victory, they claimed that the election of 1928 marked the denouement of an era dominated by the “old” America.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, according to Lubell and Hofstadter, dubbed “pluralist historians” by Michael Paul Rogin,<sup>8</sup> electoral change in 1928 was associated with a major transformation in the nature of

<sup>4</sup> Key, “A Theory of Critical Elections,” 4; Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter*, 534–35; Duncan MacRae, Jr. and James A. Meldrum, “Critical Elections in Illinois: 1888–1958,” *American Political Science Review*, 54 (1960): 681; Charles Sellers, “The Equilibrium Cycle in Two-Party Politics,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 29 (1965): 23; Burnham, *Critical Elections*, 54–57; John L. Shover, “The Emergence of a Two-Party System in Republican Philadelphia, 1924–1936,” *Journal of American History*, 60 (1974): 1000–02.

<sup>5</sup> Key, “A Theory of Critical Elections,” 4. Key’s empirical analysis of the contest of 1928 is limited to the New England region.

<sup>6</sup> Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (2d ed.; New York, 1955), 36. A similar argument is presented by Samuel J. Eldersveld in “The Influence of Metropolitan Party Pluralities in Presidential Elections since 1920: A Study of Twelve Key Cities,” *American Political Science Review*, 43 (1949): 1189–1206.

<sup>7</sup> Lubell, *The Future of American Politics*, 3, 29–43; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955), 298–301; Paul A. Carter, “The Campaign of 1928 Re-examined: A Study of Political Folklore,” *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 46 (1963): 263–72; William E. Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914–1932* (New York, 1958), 225–40; Andrew Sinclair, *Era of Excess: A Social History of the Prohibition Movement* (New York, 1964), 292–306.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Paul Rogin, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy: The Radical Specter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 80–81.

American reform. These historians contend that Al Smith's candidacy constituted a transition between the old-style reform tradition of Populism and Progressivism and the new-style reform tradition of the New Deal. Pluralists celebrate the later tradition as more firmly grounded in the realities of modern life. New Deal reformers advocated pragmatic solutions for immediate economic problems, resisting the temptation to launch mass-based moralistic crusades against industrial society.

Since 1960 scholars have devoted considerable energy to quantitative analysis of electoral change in the 1920s and 1930s. The findings of nationwide studies generally have been consistent with the notion that 1928 was either a critical election or an important constituent of a critical era; the findings of more microscopic studies at the state and local level have been mixed. Irving Bernstein and Carl Degler have each examined patterns of urban voting and strongly reaffirmed the thesis of the "Al Smith Revolution." Gerald Pomper, in a more elaborate analysis of state-level voting returns, concluded that 1928 was the "most critical" election of a realigning era. Similarly, William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, applying new methods of electoral analysis to state-level data, found that a "substantial" realignment of the Democratic vote occurred in 1928.<sup>9</sup> In a pioneering study of Illinois counties, Duncan MacRae, Jr. and James A. Meldrum concluded that 1928 was the focal point of a realigning period, and John M. Allswang found that for ethnic voters in Chicago 1928 was a classic critical election. Burnham has argued that in Pennsylvania 1928 was part of a complex process of realignment, and his judgment is corroborated by John L. Shover's study of Philadelphia. Yet in an earlier study of California, Shover claimed that the Smith-Hoover confrontation did not play an important role in realigning the Golden State's electorate. Similar negative results have been reported by Charles Dollar for Oklahoma, David J. Alvarez and Edmund J. True for Hartford, and Rogin for Wisconsin, North Dakota, and South Dakota.<sup>10</sup>

In 1969 Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen published in this journal a provocative study of metropolitan areas, questioning the realigning influences of the presidential election of 1928. The authors found that for "the presiden-

<sup>9</sup> Irving Bernstein, *The Lean Years: A History of the American Worker, 1920-1933* (Boston, 1960), 75-82; Carl N. Degler, "American Political Parties and the Rise of the City: An Interpretation," *Journal of American History*, 51 (1964): 41-59; Pomper, "Classification of Presidential Elections," 554; William H. Flanigan and Nancy H. Zingale, "The Measurement of Electoral Change," *Political Methodology*, 1 (1974): 49-82. Flanigan and Zingale applied analysis of variance methods to state-level voting returns for the presidential elections of 1824-1968. They used these procedures to distinguish between changes in party power termed "realigning surge" and changes in voter coalitions termed "realigning interactive change." They also examined separately Republican and Democratic percentages of the presidential vote. Nineteen twenty-eight, they concluded, involved a "substantial interactive realignment for the Democratic vote." Their methodology, however interesting, is applicable only to long series of elections and not to the intensive analysis of a relatively limited time span.

<sup>10</sup> MacRae and Meldrum, "Critical Elections in Illinois," 669-83; John M. Allswang, *A House for All Peoples: Ethnic Politics in Chicago, 1890-1936* (Lexington, Ky., 1971), 167-68; Burnham, *Critical Elections*, 50-57; Shover, "The Emergence of a Two-Party System," 1000; John L. Shover, "Was 1928 a Critical Election in California?" *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, 58 (1967): 196-204; Charles M. Dollar, "Innovation in Historical Research: A Computer Approach," *Computers and the Humanities*, 3 (1969): 144-49; David J. Alvarez and Edmund J. True, "Critical Elections and Partisan Realignment: An Urban Test Case," *Polity*, 5 (1973): 563-76; Rogin, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy*, 81, 126-27, 151-56.

tial vote alone in these areas . . . it is plausible to speak of an 'Al Smith Revolution.' ” Their examination of voting for lesser offices, however, provided either “no support” for the occurrence of revolutionary change in 1928 or “at most inconclusive” evidence of such change. Clubb and Allen did not claim to have proved “that partisan realignment did not occur in 1928.” Instead they judiciously concluded that their findings were “equally consistent” with the thesis of the “Al Smith Revolution,” the “view that realignment came primarily in the 1930s,” and the “suggestion that realignment came about in the course of a ‘critical period.’ ” The authors closed with a plea for more detailed, empirical research.<sup>11</sup>

This study denies that the presidential election of 1928 was either a critical election or an important component of a realigning era of electoral change. Rather than forging durable new alignments of the American electorate, Smith's candidacy generated an intense conflict between Catholics and Protestants that only marginally affected subsequent patterns of politics. Electoral change during the 1930s was primarily influenced by the responses of Herbert Hoover and Franklin D. Roosevelt to challenges posed by the Great Depression. No election between 1916 and 1940 qualifies as a critical election, and taken together these presidential contests form a more intricate pattern of stability and change than is predicted by critical election theory. Furthermore, the theory itself lacks logical coherence and constricts our vision of American political history.

SINCE CRITICAL ELECTION THEORY provides the theoretical context for this re-examination of presidential politics, the theory's most prominent features need to be described.<sup>12</sup> Critical election theory has developed from ideas initially set forth by the political scientist V. O. Key, Jr. According to Key, critical elections have occurred periodically in American history. He indicated that this type of election generates high levels of voter interest, upsets the previous balance of power among competing parties, and produces durable changes in the compositions of the voter coalitions supporting each party: “All these characteristics cumulate to the conception of an election type in which the depth and intensity of electoral involvement are high, in which more or less profound readjustments occur in the relations of power within the community, and in which new and durable electoral groupings are formed.”<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Jerome M. Clubb and Howard W. Allen, “The Cities and the Election of 1928: Partisan Realignment?” *AHR*, 74 (1969): 1205–20. Bernard Sternsher, in “The Emergence of the New Deal System: A Problem in Historical Analysis of Voter Behavior,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 6 (1975): 136–37, has surveyed sixteen history texts (fifteen published from 1971 to 1973) and concluded that despite the work of Clubb and Allen, “ten texts implicitly accept the classification of 1928 as a critical election.” In the light of recent work, Sternsher suggested that 1928 should be regarded as a necessary component of a realigning era (pp. 142–43).

<sup>12</sup> Critical election theory is not precise, formal system of thought. It is a general perspective on electoral change shared by many political theorists. In order to use and evaluate the theory this study synthesizes concepts put forth by various scholars. It does not attempt to describe, in detail, the work of any individual theorist.

<sup>13</sup> Key, “A Theory of Critical Elections,” 4. In another article Key suggests that realignment may also take place through “processes of long-term or secular” change. V. O. Key, Jr., “Secular Realignment and the Party System,” *Journal of Politics*, 21 (1959): 198–99.

Key's concept of critical elections has stimulated attempts to formulate more complete typologies of American political contests. The most commonly used classification, first suggested by Angus Campbell and his coauthors of *The American Voter*, includes three categories of elections: critical or realigning elections; maintaining elections that do not significantly alter previous voting behavior; and deviating elections that produce sharp but temporary alterations in voter behavior.<sup>14</sup> The political scientist Gerald Pomper has further refined this typology by distinguishing between realigning or critical elections—those which alter both the distribution of power among parties and the composition of their voter coalitions—and “converting elections”—those which change only the composition of the parties' voter bases.<sup>15</sup>

Yet the working historian will have difficulty employing even Pomper's more complete schema. It still confuses analytically distinct categories of elections that may have different implications for American political history. The use of incomplete typologies is the most obvious logical weakness of critical election theory. If we follow previous theorists and divide into two mutually exclusive categories the three relevant variables of changes in party power, changes in voter coalitions, and the durability of change, a complete typology based upon these three dichotomies will have eight categories (the intersection of three two-category variables has  $2^3$  or eight categories).<sup>16</sup> This typology should include two types of maintaining elections, three types of deviating elections, and three types of realigning or critical elections. There are maintaining elections followed by stability and maintaining elections followed by change. There are deviating elections that produce temporary changes in party power, in the composition of voter coalitions, or in both of these variables. There are realigning elections that produce durable changes in party power, in the composition of voter coalitions, or in both of these variables. The first two types of deviating elections and the first type of critical election have not yet been incorporated into critical election theory.

Pomper also disputes Key's description of the statistical relationships that characterize critical or realigning elections. Pomper's statistical analysis of American electoral history does not identify particular elections in which “new and durable electoral groupings are formed”; he thus redefines critical elections as contests that disrupt the continuity of previously stable patterns of voter loyalty and herald—but do not begin—a period of stability. Pomper argues that “elections identified as critical do not show high correlations with later ballots,” but contests following the critical election are highly correlated. Pomper also asserts that critical elections are preceded by “times of unease” and followed by a “period of assimilation.”<sup>17</sup> Although Pomper partially attributes his disagreement with Key to differences in statistical methods, the

<sup>14</sup> Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter*, 531–34.

<sup>15</sup> Pomper, “Classification of Presidential Elections,” 537–38.

<sup>16</sup> If we postulate that both temporary and durable changes can be associated with an election (e.g., a temporary change in party power and a durable change in the composition of voter coalitions), the typology expands further. There is some dispute over whether durable changes in party power must produce a new “majority party.” See, for example, Burnham, *Critical Elections*, 32–33.

<sup>17</sup> Pomper, “Classification of Presidential Elections,” 537–38.

two authorities clearly offer substantively distinct descriptions of critical elections.

As mentioned above, political scientists have further modified the concept of critical elections by asserting that electoral realignments may manifest themselves not only in a single critical election but also in a critical or realigning era of electoral change. This is an important modification. As John L. Shover suggests, "The critical election model for description contains the latent assumption that changes in political behavior should be abrupt and sudden."<sup>18</sup> The notion of critical eras allows political change to occur more gradually and less uniformly.

Proponents of critical election theory generally assume that electoral realignments are determined by the influence of changes in party identification on changes in voter behavior. Long periods of stability in the party loyalties of American voters—and thus in voter performance—are shattered by the drastic upheavals of critical elections or critical eras and followed by new periods of stability characterized by new patterns of partisan commitment and voter behavior. Occasionally periods of continuity are punctuated by the short-term attitudinal changes that generate deviating elections. The electoral typologies of critical election theory are a simplified schematic expression of this underlying structure of party competition. If the structure did not exist, critical election typology would lose its *raison d'être*. The theory does not portray universal properties of electoral systems but describes a particular configuration of temporal stability and change.

An examination of voter alignments in the presidential elections of 1916 to 1940 should disclose both the extent to which 1928 conforms to the description of a critical election and the compatibility of this series of elections with the predictions of critical election theory. In lieu of survey data on the behavior of individual voters, investigators generally infer the temporal stability of electoral coalitions from measures of statistical association computed for such aggregate units as states or counties.<sup>19</sup> Pairs of elections with similar constituent coalitions should yield relatively strong associations, whereas pairs of elections with divergent coalitions should yield relatively weak associations. In theory, each election type (maintaining, deviating, critical) is characterized by a distinctive overall pattern of statistical associations with earlier and later elections. Maintaining elections should be strongly associated with preceding, but not necessarily with succeeding, elections. Deviating elections should be weakly associated with both earlier and later elections. Critical elections should be weakly associated with preceding elections and either begin (Key's definition) or foreshadow (Pomper's definition) a succession of strongly associated elections.

Unfortunately, despite the appealing simplicity of these verbal descriptions, a historian cannot rigorously classify presidential elections on the basis of statistical associations. Critical election theory is sufficiently ambiguous that

<sup>18</sup> Shover, "The Emergence of a Two-Party System," 1002.

<sup>19</sup> The first useful survey data available is for the presidential election of 1936.



the typing of elections necessarily involves intuitive judgments. The theory includes no objective procedures for translating a set of statistical associations between elections into statements expressing the proper classification of each election. A historian will find to his consternation that critical election theory does not answer such questions as: What levels of association between election pairs characterized periods of stability? At what point do the associations between a particular election and previous contests become sufficiently tenuous to warrant classifying that election as either deviant or critical? How can an investigator distinguish between "temporary" and "durable" changes in electoral behavior? What is the minimum length of the stable phase of a voting cycle? Although each type of election can be verbally described, the investigator has wide latitude in determining the statistical equivalent of each verbal description.<sup>20</sup>

The concept of critical or realigning eras is no less immune to these criticisms than are the standard categories of critical election theory. Theorists have provided no clear guidelines either for establishing the existence of such eras or for demarcating their boundaries. Although a laudable attempt to relax the rigidity of critical election theory, the notion of critical periods may easily be misused to gloss over divergences between empirical data and the fundamental assumptions of critical election models.

TO PORTRAY VOTER ALIGNMENTS between 1916 and 1940 this study relies upon a quantitative data base of all 2,058 counties outside the confederate South.<sup>21</sup> Variables measured for each county include presidential votes from 1916 to 1940 and a variety of social and economic indicators. The data also include statistics of party registration and primary election returns for the counties in which information is available.<sup>22</sup> The statistical analysis will concentrate on the examination of changes in voter coalitions that are more difficult to detect than changes in political power.

Descriptive statistical analysis detailed in the tables and text below suggests that 1928 was not a critical election according to either Key's or Pomper's sense of the term. Rather, voter coalitions in 1928 were skewed by a uniquely strong division between Catholics and Protestants. In actuality, a more significant turning point seems to occur in 1924 for the combined Davis-LaFollette vote. Yet neither 1924 nor any other election of this period fulfills the descrip-

<sup>20</sup> Few social science theories can be implemented with precision. It is important, however, to minimize the gap between the concepts expressed in a theory and the ways in which these concepts can be empirically tested.

<sup>21</sup> For much of the period between 1916 and 1940 there is very little county-to-county variation in presidential voting in the Old South. There is also little variation in some of the key indicators of voter behavior, for example, the percentage of Catholics and foreign-stock individuals in each county. The unique political patterns of the South deserve separate study by methods adapted to its demographic characteristics.

<sup>22</sup> See the appendix for a list of the variables and their sources. For purposes of analysis each county is weighted according to the square root of the voting-age population, a standard correction for the analysis of units with unequal populations. Nonetheless, the analysis of unweighted data or data weighted according to the voting age population itself yields essentially the same results.

tion of a critical election, and, overall, these elections do not conform to the predictions of critical election theory.

Table 1 portrays the relative stability of voter coalitions for all pairs of presidential elections between 1916 and 1940. Specifically, table 1 is a matrix of regression ( $b$ ) and squared correlation coefficients ( $r^2$ ) for the presidential votes of 1916 to 1940. These coefficients are computed for all 2,058 counties outside the confederate South. Each percentage in the margins of table 1 is a distinct variable. For each presidential election year, except 1924, the variable represents the Democratic percentage of the total presidential vote cast in each county. For the presidential election of 1924, two percentages are computed: the Democratic percentage of the total vote and the combined Democratic-Progressive party percentage of the total vote. One set of entries in the table ( $b$ ) represents the regression coefficient for the two corresponding percentages in the vertical and horizontal margins. The earlier election serves as the independent or explanatory variable, the later election as the dependent

TABLE 1. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS ( $b$ ) AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION ( $r^2$ ) FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1916-40, ALL COUNTIES

	1916		1920		1924		1924*		1928		1932		1936		1940	
	$b$	$r^2$	$b$	$r^2$	$b$	$r^2$	$b$	$r^2$	$b$	$r^2$	$b$	$r^2$	$b$	$r^2$	$b$	$r^2$
1916	1	1	.92	.51	.92	.31	.79	.36	.53	.21	.70	.35	.66	.33	.64	.29
1920			1	1	1.03	.77	.50	.24	.34	.14	.40	.19	.37	.17	.50	.29
1924					1	1	.38	.23	.29	.17	.31	.18	.20	.08	.30	.28
1924*							1	1	.58	.44	.76	.71	.57	.44	.47	.27
1928									1	1	.70	.47	.57	.33	.56	.30
1932											1	1	.70	.53	.55	.30
1936													1	1	.89	.75
1940															1	1

\* The combined percentages of the Democratic and Progressive party vote of 1924.

or response variable. Each regression coefficient estimates the responsiveness of the dependent variable to changes from county-to-county in the value of the independent variable. Since both variables are party percentages, the coefficient can be expressed as the percentage of change in the dependent variable produced by a 1 per cent change in the independent variable. A coefficient of .5, for example, obtained from the regression of the 1920 percentage of Democratic voters on the 1916 percentage of Democratic voters, would indicate that a 1 per cent change in the 1916 percentage yields a .5 per cent change in the 1920 percentage. The value of the regression coefficient reflects stability and change in the composition of electoral groupings between two election years. The more stable the coalitions, the greater the value of the regression coefficient.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Due to problems of measurement error as well as problems inherent in a reliance on aggregate-level data, changes in coefficients computed for counties only approximate changes in the underlying voter coalitions.

Included in parentheses with the regression coefficients are coefficients of determination ( $r^2$ , the square of the correlation coefficient) for each election pair. The coefficients of determination reveal the proportion of the county-to-county variation in the dependent variable that can be explained by its regression on the independent variable. The value of  $r^2$  varies between 0 and 1. An  $r^2$  of 1 indicates that all of the variation can be explained, that is, knowing the value of the independent variable allows one to predict exactly the value of the dependent variable for each county; an  $r^2$  of 0 indicates that none of the variation can be explained, or that knowing the independent variable does not help one predict the values of the dependent variable; intermediate values of  $r^2$  represent various other proportions of explained variation.<sup>24</sup>

Unlike previous studies based on aggregate-level data, this work reports regression as well as correlation coefficients. Although the use of either statistic would not significantly alter the substantive conclusions of this study, it is important to include regression measures. Regression coefficients are more appropriate than correlation coefficients for comparing voter behavior over time for a population of political units, in this case counties. Errors can arise when an investigator attempts to comprehend individual behavior, for example, voting decisions, on the basis of data pertaining to groups, such as counties or cities.<sup>25</sup> An incorrect inference from the group or aggregate to the individual level of analysis is generally termed an "ecological fallacy." The geographic grouping of individuals can influence the relative variation of independent and dependent variables, which, in turn, influences the value of the correlation coefficient. The values of regression coefficients, however, are more resistant to changes in relative variation produced by the process of aggregation.<sup>26</sup> Temporal changes in relative variation may also occur as a result of factors extraneous to the underlying voter coalitions being explored. Again, the values of regression coefficients are less sensitive to such fluctuations and provide more accurate measures of change over time in the composition of voter coalitions.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Since presidential percentages are measured by using total vote rather than the potential electorate as the base, the regression and correlation coefficients do not necessarily register changes in voter turnout. These measures would, however, reflect changes in turnout that influenced the composition of voter coalitions. I am in the midst of a project designed to determine the behavior from one election to another (transition probabilities) of both voters and nonvoters. Moreover, given that the values of regression and correlation coefficients are sensitive to the number of cases included in a study and that critical election theory lacks precision, the analysis of table 1 relies heavily on the comparison of results for various pairs of elections.

<sup>25</sup> No statistical technique can with certainty bridge the gap between individual behavior and aggregate-level data. The argument presented here is only that regression measures offer a better means of bridging this gap than the more familiar correlation measures. For a more extended discussion of the ecological fallacy with special reference to political behavior, see Allan J. Lichtman, "Correlation, Regression and the Ecological Fallacy: A Critique," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1974): 417-33. For another viewpoint, see E. Terrence Jones, "Ecological Inference and Electoral Analysis," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 2 (1972): 249-69, and Jones, "Using Ecological Regression," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 4 (1974): 593-96.

<sup>26</sup> Hubert M. Blalock, *Causal Inferences in Non-Experimental Research* (Chapel Hill, 1964), 102-07; Lichtman, "Correlation, Regression and the Ecological Fallacy," 418-20.

<sup>27</sup> Hubert M. Blalock, "Causal Inferences, Closed Populations, and Measures of Association," *American Political Science Review*, 61 (1967): 130-36; John W. Tukey, "Causation, Regression, and Path Analysis," in Oscar Kempthorne *et al.*, eds., *Statistics and Mathematics in Biology* (Ames, 1954). Blalock notes that for temporal comparisons of geographic units such extraneous factors as migration can affect the values of

Key states that a critical election establishes “new and durable groupings” of the electorate. This description suggests that it forms the beginning of a series of strongly interrelated elections that are weakly related to previous elections. Table 1 clearly reveals that Al Smith’s vote of 1928 fails to satisfy this requirement. In fact, the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924 establishes a sharper turning point than the Democratic vote of 1928. This combined vote is more closely related to Democratic voting in 1928–40 than to Democratic voting in 1920 or 1924. In addition, although the continuity between elections should grow weaker as the time span between them increases, the Democratic-Progressive vote is a slightly more accurate precursor than the Al Smith vote of Roosevelt’s performance in 1932, an equally good precursor of Roosevelt’s performance in 1936, and a slightly less accurate precursor of Roosevelt’s performance in 1940. In terms of statistical descriptions, it is more fitting to claim that the “Roosevelt Revolution” was first preceded by a “Davis-LaFollette Revolution” rather than an “Al Smith Revolution.”<sup>28</sup>

These findings are corroborated by a multiple regression analysis of Al Smith’s vote and the combined Davis-LaFollette vote.<sup>29</sup> Multiple regression analysis can reveal the ways in which intercorrelated explanatory factors influence a particular form of behavior. Like the detective unable to extract a confession from a recalcitrant suspect, historians must explain voting behavior from the clues available to them. Unfortunately this task is complicated by the correlations among the social and economic factors that can explain voter decisions. In 1928 Catholics, for example, were much more likely than Protestants to be urban residents and immigrants. If the investigator limits himself to an examination of the relationship between religion and voter choice, he will learn very little about the individual importance of religious differences; their influence on voting behavior will be obscured by the influence of all the factors with which they are correlated. If, for instance, Catholics voted for Smith in greater proportion than Protestants, was this due to their religion or perhaps their tendency to be of foreign stock or to dwell in large cities? Multiple regression analysis can sort out the separate influences of correlated explanatory or independent variables. This technique generates regression coefficients for each explanatory variable included in the analysis. These coefficients measure the amount of change in presidential voting produced by an explanatory variable after controlling for the influence of every other variable included in the analysis.

For the 2,058 counties outside the confederate South, the study computed regression equations using the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924

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correlation coefficients without influencing the values of regression coefficients (p. 134). He warns investigators that “it is entirely possible that the basic [processes], as measured by slopes [regression coefficients], would remain unchanged whereas the relative magnitudes of the correlations could be altered” (p. 136).

<sup>28</sup> The importance of the election of 1924 is also noted at the local level by Bruce Stave in “The ‘LaFollette Revolution’ and the Pittsburgh Vote, 1932,” *Mid-America*, 49 (1967): 244–51.

<sup>29</sup> These percentages closely approximate the non-Republican percentages for 1924 and 1928.

and the Democratic vote of 1928 as dependent or response variables. Each equation included the following independent or explanatory variables: per cent Catholic, per cent urban, per cent foreign stock, per cent home owners, and economic status. These represent most of the variables believed by historians and political scientists to have shaped voter coalitions during the period being considered. Unless otherwise indicated, these variables will be included in all multiple regression equations computed for this study.<sup>30</sup>

The regression analysis, summarized in table 2, reveals that the major distinction between Al Smith's voter coalition and the coalition forged by Davis and LaFollette was the much stronger direct influence of Catholicism on the Smith vote. The division between Catholics and non-Catholics was a much more important determinant of the decision to vote for Al Smith than the decision to vote for Davis or LaFollette. Independent of the other variables included in the analysis, a 1 per cent change in the category of "per cent Catholic" produces a .31 per cent change in the Al Smith vote and a  $-.08$  per cent change in the Davis-LaFollette vote.

TABLE 2. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (*b*) FOR THE COMBINED DEMOCRATIC-PROGRESSIVE PERCENTAGES OF THE 1924 VOTE AND THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE 1928 VOTE

	1924		1928	
	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>
Per Cent Catholic	$-.08$	.026	0.31	.021
Per Cent Urban	$-.04$	.013	0.00	.010
Per Cent Foreign Stock	0.09	.016	0.08	.013
Per Cent Home Owners	$-.34$	.027	$-.35$	.021
Economic Status	$-1.3$	.106	$-1.1$	.085

The prospect of a Catholic seriously seeking the presidency in 1928 was an intriguing new feature of American politics. Apparently Al Smith stimulated both a pro- and anti-Catholic vote. For Catholics a Smith victory promised to increase their collective prestige by recognizing the fitness of Catholics to hold the nation's most important office and symbolically represent all of America. Yet his defeat in a campaign marked by anti-Catholic agitation threatened to undermine the status they had already achieved. Many Protestants, on the other hand, regarded an increase in the status of Catholicism as a diminution of their own prestige and feared that a Catholic president would promote the interests of his coreligionists at the expense of Protestant Americans. With

<sup>30</sup> These equations are derived from a more complex multiple regression analysis reported in Allan J. Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis of the Presidential Election of 1928" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1973). The larger study also included a variable measuring opposition to prohibition as expressed in state-level referendums between 1926 and 1929 for the 471 counties in which data were available. It also explored several methodological issues that are beyond the scope of this article. The inclusion of the prohibition variable does not materially alter the conclusions presented here. The standard errors reported in the tables assess the impact on regression estimates of such components of behavior. If the assumptions of multiple regression are met, 95 per cent of the time the actual value of a regression coefficient should lie within  $\pm 2$  standard errors of the estimated value; 99 per cent of the time it should lie within  $\pm 2.6$  standard errors.

Smith's sound defeat and the general belief that no political party in the foreseeable future would risk nominating another Catholic, religious conflict lost much of its salience. The denominational cleavage that characterized presidential voting in 1928 was not nearly as strong in 1932. Independent of the same control variables, a 1 per cent change in "per cent Catholic" yields only a .01 per cent change in Roosevelt's vote of 1932.<sup>31</sup>

The contention that voter coalitions in 1928 were marked by an especially intense cleavage between Protestants and Catholics is corroborated by a multiple regression analysis of deviation variables measuring the difference between Al Smith's percentage of the 1928 vote and each of the other presidential percentages included in table 1 (for example, Democratic voting in 1928 minus Democratic voting in 1924). The positive regression coefficients reported in table 3 disclose that, independent of control variables, Smith's support relative to the support accorded other candidates increased as the proportion of Catholics in a county likewise increased. The importance of Catholic-Protestant conflict for presidential voting in 1928 was neither anticipated in previous elections nor repeated in later contests.<sup>32</sup>

TABLE 3. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (*b*) FOR THE INFLUENCE OF PER CENT CATHOLIC ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PER CENT DEMOCRATIC IN 1928 AND OTHER PRESIDENTIAL PERCENTAGES

<i>Per Cent Democratic 1928 Minus</i>	<i>Per Cent Catholic</i>	
	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>
Per Cent Democratic 1916	.32	.022
Per Cent Democratic 1920	.21	.019
Per Cent Democratic 1924	.09	.021
Per Cent Democratic-Progressive 1924	.38	.019
Per Cent Democratic 1932	.33	.018
Per Cent Democratic 1936	.43	.022
Per Cent Democratic 1940	.33	.023

The regression equations reported in table 2 also reveal that both economic status and home ownership exerted a strong negative influence on the decision to vote for either Davis or LaFollette in 1924 and the decision to vote for Al Smith in 1928. Thus economic alignments of the American electorate were not first generated in 1928 or in any of the Roosevelt elections. They date back at least to 1924. This finding helps explain the continuity between the presidential election of 1924 and the elections of 1932 and 1936. It also suggests the need for fresh interpretations of the connections between class conflict and political affiliation and, more broadly, of the types of social conflict that characterize periods of prosperity and depression.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The standard error of this regression coefficient is .023.

<sup>32</sup> The relatively low coefficient for the difference between Democratic voting in 1928 and 1924 can be accounted for by the importance of Irish-Catholic voters in the shrunken Democratic coalition of 1924.

<sup>33</sup> Examination of regression coefficients for the index number ECON30 is an effective means of comparing the relationship between economic status and voting behavior for different elections. Unlike percentage variables, however, this index number has no clear substantive meaning. To further clarify the



Although the presidential election of 1928 does not fit Key's definition of a critical election, it may yet conform to Pomper's alternative definition. Pomper states that a critical election establishes a "break in electoral continuity" and is followed by, but not included in, a new "era of stability." This definition suggests that elections preceding a critical election should be strongly related to each other but weakly related to elections following the critical election. Elections succeeding the critical election should also be strongly related to each other and weakly related to preceding elections. The critical election itself should be weakly related to both preceding and succeeding elections. Once again, table 1 reveals that the presidential election of 1928 clearly fails to satisfy these requirements. Neither prior nor subsequent elections form a cohesive subgroup. And Al Smith's coalition of 1928 closely resembles Roosevelt's coalition of 1932.

This evaluation of the regression coefficients reported in table 1 demonstrates that 1928 does not fulfill either Key's or Pomper's notion of a critical election. Visual inspection of the table can be supplemented by the statistical technique of elementary linkage analysis. Linkage analysis identifies distinct groups of interrelated elections. The elections within each group are more strongly related to at least one other election in the group than to any election in any other group. An examination of the election groups generated by elementary linkage analysis provides another test of the hypothesis that a critical realignment of the electorate occurred in 1928.

If the Smith-Hoover confrontation were a critical election, the Democratic vote of 1928 should divide table 1 into two groups of presidential votes. If it established "new and durable electoral groupings" (Key's definition), the 1928 Democratic vote should be included in the later group. If it disrupted previously stable electoral alignments and heralded, but did not begin, a new era of stability (Pomper's definition), the 1928 Democratic vote could be included as either the last election of the earlier group or the first election of the later group. It cannot form its own group because each group must include a minimum of two presidential votes.

The results of elementary linkage analysis do not reveal the contest between Smith and Hoover to be a critical election according to either definition. The analysis generates three rather than two groups of presidential votes. The first group includes the Democratic votes of 1916, 1920, and 1924; the second group, the Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924 and the Democratic votes of 1928 and 1932; and the third group, the Democratic votes of 1936 and 1940.<sup>34</sup> Moreover, Al Smith's 1928 vote does not either begin or end any of the three groups. It is included in the middle group along with the Democratic-Progressive vote of four years earlier.

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nature of the relationship between economic status and voting behavior in 1924 and 1928 the larger study also separately entered in regression equations the various components of the index number. Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis," 253.

<sup>34</sup> The same groupings are obtained whether linkage analysis is applied to correlation or regression coefficients. Factor analysis of the correlation coefficients also fails to disclose groups of elections neatly divided by the contest of 1928.

In terms of critical election theory, the presidential contest of 1928 would best be classified as a type of deviating election. The Democratic vote of 1928 bears substantial resemblance only to the Democratic vote of 1932. Similarly, political scientists, using survey data, have found that in the presidential election of 1960 voter coalitions were once again skewed by reactions to the religion of the Democratic nominee.<sup>35</sup>

Yet it may be misleading to classify the presidential election of 1928 as a deviating election, or even to apply critical election terminology to any presidential election from 1916 to 1940. For these elections do not exhibit the pattern of relationships predicted by critical election theory.

A careful examination of table 1 reveals that no election between 1916 and 1940 satisfies either Key's or Pomper's notion of a critical election. At first glance, table 1 and the results of elementary linkage analysis suggest that an era of electoral stability perhaps began in 1936 (this cannot be verified without extending the series), and that the election of 1932 is a critical election in Pomper's sense of the term. But 1932 is not a point of discontinuity. The Democratic vote of 1932 is a good precursor of the Democratic vote of 1936 and is itself rather closely anticipated by the Democratic votes of 1916 and 1928 and the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924.

The nature of the election groups identified by elementary linkage analysis might also suggest that a *realigning or critical era* began in 1924 and ended in 1936, assuming that such a lengthy critical era has substantive meaning. This hypothesis may also help explain the instability that characterizes the so-called New Deal era of 1928-40. Compared to other regression coefficients in table 1, the only coefficient from this period indicative of marked stability ( $b = .89$ ) is obtained from the regression of Democratic voting in 1940 on Democratic voting in 1936. The regression relationships between the contiguous election pairs 1932-36 and 1936-40 are the only ones in which the composition of an earlier Democratic coalition can explain more than half the variation in a later Democratic coalition. Yet the paired relationships for the presidential elections of 1924 to 1940 do not demonstrate a gradual progression toward a stable situation. Furthermore, the consistently strong relationship between Woodrow Wilson's 1916 percentage and later Democratic percentages undermines any assertion that 1924 began a critical era of electoral change.

The presidential election of 1916 would present a perplexing classification problem for any devotee of critical election theory. Only the Democratic vote of 1936 better forecasts Democratic voting in 1940, and only the Democratic vote of 1932 better forecasts Democratic voting in 1936. These relationships preclude classifying 1916 as a maintaining election of the pre-New Deal era. But its relationships with the elections of 1920 and 1924 are much too strong to warrant classifying 1916 as a deviating election. Perhaps critical election theory requires us to argue that 1916 actually began the New Deal era of American politics (possibly interrupted by the aberrations of World War I).

<sup>35</sup> Angus Campbell *et al.*, *Elections and the Political Order* (New York, 1966), 96-124.

Perhaps we need to go even farther back in time to uncover the roots of the New Deal coalition.

HOWEVER ILLUMINATING, DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS of the contest between Al Smith and Herbert Hoover cannot disclose the causal influence of this election on the pattern of subsequent politics. This task requires additional quantitative analysis as well as the scrutiny of information derived from traditional historical sources.

The candidates and issues of an election and the interactions between the election and events such as war, depression, or demographic change can influence the outcome of later elections. Such influences can take many forms, for example, changes in the strength and structure of party organizations, in the party loyalties of the voting public, or in the images projected by political parties. Unfortunately, political theorists have failed to elaborate the causal dimensions of critical election theory. Although scholars frequently use the language of causality in their verbal descriptions of election types, they neither develop the theoretical implications of causal models of electoral change nor integrate methods of evaluating causality in their empirical investigations.<sup>36</sup> Political analysts generally focus their studies of election types on measures of statistical association that cannot in themselves establish the extent of the causal relationship between variables. Elections that ostensibly mark the beginning of new voting cycles may actually exert very little influence on the unfolding of these cycles, whereas elections fulfilling the statistical descriptions of maintaining or deviating elections may profoundly affect subsequent contests.

In delineating the social and economic composition of voter coalitions, multiple regression analysis provides important insight into the causality of electoral behavior. The multiple regression analysis summarized in table 2, for example, indicates that the major change wrought by Al Smith in the voter coalition established by Davis and LaFollette was the creation of an intense cleavage between Catholics and non-Catholics. Yet the religious divisions of 1928 resulted from the special circumstances of an election featuring the first Catholic candidate ever to seek the presidency seriously. By 1932 religion had only a small independent influence on presidential voting. This does not mean that Catholics deserted the Democratic party in droves between 1928 and 1932. But in 1932 Catholics no longer constituted the vanguard of the Democracy; Protestant groups were catching up. Although some Catholics undoubtedly joined the Democratic coalition in 1928 and remained loyal in later years, there is little reason to believe that Smith's candidacy was a decisive influence on their behavior during the Great Depression.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Shover, "The Emergence of a Two-Party System," attempts to resolve this problem by simply asserting that critical election theory is purely descriptive in nature.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, Robert K. Massey, Jr., "The Democratic Laggard: Massachusetts," *New England Quarterly*, 44 (1971): 564-74.

When the influence of social and economic variables on Democratic voting in 1928 is compared to their influence on Democratic, rather than Democratic and Progressive, voting in 1924, religion is again far more important in 1928 than in 1924. In addition, between these two election years, foreign ethnicity was transformed from a strong negative to a small positive influence on Democratic voting. Independent of the other variables included in the analysis, a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock individuals yields a  $-.45$  per cent change in John W. Davis's percentage of the 1924 vote and a  $.08$  per cent change in Al Smith's percentage of the 1928 vote.<sup>38</sup>

These results do not mean that Smith secured the loyalty of many foreign-stock Americans who might otherwise have continued to oppose Democratic presidential candidates. Further analysis discloses significant discontinuities in the behavior of foreign-stock voters between 1928 and 1932. Table 4 summarizes the results of a multiple regression analysis that substitutes for "per cent foreign stock" nine variables representing membership in various nationality groups. The table reports the influence of each of these variables on the difference between the Democratic percentage of the presidential vote in 1932 and 1928. The coefficients displayed in table 4 demonstrate that the Democrats had different bases of ethnic support in 1928 and 1932. Independent of control variables, Germans and Scandinavians were stauncher supporters of FDR, and Italians, Poles, French Canadians, and Irish—the predominantly Catholic groups—stauncher supporters of Al Smith.

TABLE 4. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (*b*) FOR THE INFLUENCE OF INDIVIDUAL NATIONALITY GROUPS ON THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE IN 1932 AND 1928

	<i>b</i>	<i>Standard Error</i>
Per Cent Scandinavian	0.28	.061
Per Cent German	0.85	.152
Per Cent British	0.69	.273
Per Cent British Canadian	0.82	.144
Per Cent French Canadian	-.78	.150
Per Cent Russian	0.76	.152
Per Cent Polish	-1.0	.202
Per Cent Italian	-1.0	.164
Per Cent Irish	-3.7	.360

An analysis of ethnic voting also provides fresh insight into some of the most intriguing aspects of presidential voting between 1916 and 1940. Foreign-stock support for Democratic candidates sank to extraordinarily low levels in 1920 and 1924. Reacting against the policies of Woodrow Wilson and the tensions of post-World War I America, foreign-stock voters in 1920 deserted the Democratic party in far greater proportion than their native-stock counterparts. Controlling for religion, urbanism, home ownership, and economic

<sup>38</sup> The standard errors are .015 and .013 respectively.

status, a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock voters in a county produces a  $-.09$  per cent change in Woodrow Wilson's percentage of the presidential vote and a  $-.35$  per cent change in James Cox's percentage. Yet ethnic voters did not return to the Democrats in 1924; a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock voters yields a  $-.45$  per cent change in John W. Davis's percentage of the presidential vote.<sup>39</sup> A major beneficiary of ethnic opposition to the Democratic candidate was the Progressive party candidate, Robert M. LaFollette. As table 2 reveals, a 1 per cent change in the percentage of foreign-stock voters actually has a positive influence on the combined vote of Davis and LaFollette. More microscopic analysis discloses that LaFollette was particularly appealing to German-, Scandinavian-, and Russian-American voters.

These findings have far-reaching implications. The repudiation of Democratic presidential candidates by foreign-stock voters in 1920 and 1924 helps explain why the vote attained by Woodrow Wilson in 1916 and by Davis and LaFollette combined in 1924 forecast voting alignments in the first three Roosevelt elections far better than the vote attained by Cox in 1920 or Davis in 1924. Ethnic support for Al Smith, while skewed by reactions to his personal background, also represents a return to more usual patterns of political allegiance that had been disrupted in 1920 and 1924. Thus it is not surprising that Lubell, Bernstein, and Degler should have observed dramatic increases between 1920 and 1928 in urban, ethnic support for the Democratic presidential candidate. The relationship of ethnic defections to national issues and presidential candidates may also help explain why such investigators as Burner, Clubb and Allen, and Alvarez and True found persisting Democratic strength in the vote for lesser offices throughout the 1920s.<sup>40</sup>

Franklin Roosevelt, of course, consolidated and extended ethnic support for the Democratic party. Yet his accomplishments cut across class, religious, and ethnic lines. During the 1930s the Democratic party achieved impressive gains among groups outside the "new" America, notably blacks and both foreign- and native-stock Protestants.<sup>41</sup>

Samuel Lubell's arguments also imply that the presidential election of 1928 was causally significant because it created an enduring division between

<sup>39</sup> The standard errors are .012, .013, and .015 respectively. These coefficients should be interpreted with caution since independent variables are measured in 1930. It is unlikely, however, that the social and economic composition of counties substantially changed during the period being considered. The analysis also focuses on the comparison of regression coefficients for 1916, 1920, and 1924. Such comparative analysis is unlikely to be significantly affected by the use of variables measured at a slightly later date. Moreover, the conclusions rest upon profound differences in the influence on presidential voting of the variable measuring foreign ethnicity.

<sup>40</sup> David Burner, *The Politics of Provincialism: The Democratic Party in Transition, 1918-1932* (New York, 1968), 159-60; Clubb and Allen, "The Cities and the Election of 1928," 1210-18; Alvarez and True, "Critical Elections," 566-75.

<sup>41</sup> Several case studies have noted the conversion of black voters to the Democratic party during the 1930s. See, for example, Burner, *The Politics of Provincialism*, 237-41; Rita Werner Gordon, "The Change in the Political Alignment of Chicago's Negroes during the New Deal," *Journal of American History*, 56 (1969): 584-603; and John M. Allswang, "The Chicago Negro Voter and the Democratic Consensus: A Case Study," in Bernard Sternsher, ed., *The Negro in Depression and War* (Chicago, 1969), 244-54.

urban and rural America. Indeed, it is hardly surprising that urban voters should have responded more favorably to Al Smith and rural voters to Herbert Hoover. In 1928 Catholics and foreign-stock Americans tended to live in cities; Protestant and native-stock Americans tended to live in the country. Yet Lubell's argument exaggerates the importance of urban-rural divisions in 1928. Using the census definition of incorporated places with at least 2,500 residents, the percentage of urban residents in each of the 2,058 counties explains very little of the county-to-county variation in Al Smith's vote or in the difference between Smith's vote and the vote of previous Democratic candidates. "Per cent urban" explains only 2 per cent of the variation in Smith's 1928 vote, 6 per cent of the variation in the difference between Smith's vote and the average vote of Democratic presidential candidates from 1916 to 1924, and 8 per cent of the variation in the difference between Smith's vote and John W. Davis's vote of 1924.

It is, of course, the voting returns for the nation's large cities that have caught the eye of Lubell and other students of the Smith-Hoover confrontation. Indeed, as table 5 reveals, Smith performed very well in America's fourteen largest cities. Historians, however, have exaggerated the extent of Smith's metropolitan triumph. They have hailed him as the "hero of the urban masses," claiming that he swept the cities into the Democratic camp. Yet Smith only broke even in large cities, despite a whopping majority of 450,000 in his home city. Eliminating the New York City vote, Smith's metropolitan percentage drops from 50 to 46 per cent. Moreover, Smith received approximately 38.5 per cent of the vote cast outside the fourteen cities listed in table 5. The gap of 11.5 per cent between Smith's metropolitan percentage and his percentage in other localities is the proportion of individual-to-individual variation in voting decisions that can be explained by resi-

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGES FOR THE COMBINED DEMOCRATIC-PROGRESSIVE VOTE OF 1924 AND THE DEMOCRATIC VOTES OF 1928 AND 1932 FOR FOURTEEN MAJOR CITIES

<i>City</i>	<i>1924</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1932</i>
Baltimore	57	48	67
Boston*	53	67	69
Buffalo	43	49	51
Chicago*	38	47	57
Cincinnati*	39	43	51
Cleveland*	51	46	53
Detroit	20	37	59
Los Angeles*	34	29	60
Newark*	34	41	46
New York	55	62	71
Philadelphia	18	40	56
Pittsburgh	43	47	56
St. Louis	47	52	65
San Francisco*	52	50	67

\* These percentages are computed for the county in which the city is located.



dence in large cities. Thus, after eliminating the influence of metropolitan residence, almost 90 per cent of the variation in the presidential voting of 1928 is still unexplained. Finally, Roosevelt's metropolitan performance in 1932 was not based upon Al Smith's accomplishment. The difference between Smith's vote and the combined Davis-LaFollette vote in the fourteen cities of table 5 explains a negligible percentage of the variation in Roosevelt's 1932 vote.

In addition, residence in city or country exerted no independent influence on voter decisions in 1928. The multiple regression equations reported in table 2 reveal that, independent of control variables, urban-rural residence exercises a negligible influence not only on the combined Davis-LaFollette vote, but also on Al Smith's vote of 1928. These equations, however, may underestimate the influence of urbanism on Smith's vote because "per cent urban" is based upon the census definition of an urban community. Perhaps the distinction between urban and rural areas as defined by the census is less important than the distinction between small cities, suburbs, towns, and farmlands on the one hand and large cities on the other. This proposition was tested in three ways: through the computation of separate regression equations for groups of counties with and without large cities; the examination of the nonlinear relationship between urbanism and Democratic voting; and the analysis of residuals for counties with and without large cities. The results of each test upheld the initial finding that urbanism was not an important influence on voter decisions in 1928.<sup>42</sup>

The foregoing analysis provides significant insight into the extent to which events associated with the presidential election of 1928 influenced segments of the voting population. Additional insight can be obtained through the scrutiny of measures of party loyalty. As was previously suggested, an election can importantly influence later patterns of politics without engendering manifest changes in party affiliation. It can, for example, strengthen party organization or help shape a party image that is more attractive to independent voters. But changes in party loyalty can, of course, have a decisive influence on electoral competition and constitute the almost exclusive focus of critical election theory.

For the period in question, party registration statistics are the best indicators of partisan affiliation. Such statistics are available from 1926 to 1940 for the 223 counties of New York, Pennsylvania, Oregon, and California and from 1928 to 1940 for the fifty-five counties of West Virginia. For each county the analysis considers the Democratic percentage of major party registration. These percentages are measured at two-year intervals. If Al Smith's candidacy realigned the American electorate, substantial changes in the percentage of registered Democrats and in the composition of the Democratic party coalition should occur either in 1928 or 1930.

To exploit these registration returns, a variety of statistical stratagems must be employed. Party registration must be used both as a dependent or response

<sup>42</sup> For a detailed reporting of these tests, see Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis," 327-32.

variable and an independent or explanatory variable. It is important to determine the relationships between Democratic registration in earlier and later years as well as the relationship between registration and presidential voting. The analysis also considers Democratic registration in later years as independent variables for presidential percentages in 1932 and 1936. Obviously events taking place after an election cannot have influenced behavior in that election. But this statistical maneuver can indicate the extent to which the coalition of individuals registering as Democrats rather than Republicans resembles the Democratic voter coalitions of earlier years.

The analysis of registration data provides no support for the hypothesis that the presidential election of 1928 was associated with durable changes in either party power or party coalitions. Rather, the analysis suggests that partisan realignment was confined to the 1930s. For the sample of counties, table 6 reveals remarkable stability in the percentage of Democratic registrants between 1926 and 1930. Not including West Virginia, the percentage of registered Democrats was 32 per cent in 1926, 34 per cent in 1928, and 31 per cent in 1930. Not until 1932 does a realignment in favor of the Democrats begin to take place. Moreover, these aggregate statistics do not conceal a raging "Al Smith Revolution" in large cities. Registration statistics for ten metropolitan counties within the sample (reported in table 7) fail to disclose even the faint trace of a realignment in party power between 1926 and 1930.

More detailed analysis also demonstrates that Al Smith's candidacy did not scramble the coalitions formed by Democratic and Republican registrants. According to table 8, a matrix of regression and correlation coefficients for the Democratic percentage of the two-party registration, party coalitions in 1926, 1928, and 1930 are virtually indistinguishable. For each pair of party percentages the value of the regression coefficient is .86 or more, and no earlier percentage explains less than 90 per cent of the variation in a later percentage.<sup>43</sup> Overall, the coefficients reported in table 8 display no abrupt discontinuity, but a gradual transformation of partisan alignments during the 1930s.

A comparison of registration and voting statistics demonstrates that Democratic registration in 1928 and 1930 fails to foreshadow voter alignments in the presidential elections of 1932, 1936, and 1940. Table 9 reports regression and correlation coefficients for the influence of Democratic registration on Democratic voting. In each case the voting percentage is the dependent variable and the registration percentage the independent variable. The percentage of individuals registering as Democrats in 1928 and 1930 is very weakly related to the percentage of voters supporting Roosevelt. A 1 per cent change in Democratic registration for either year generates no more than a .44 per cent change in presidential voting, and variation in the percentage of registered Democrats explains no more than 34 per cent of the variation in any of Roosevelt's percentages. When entered as a sixth independent variable in the standard

<sup>43</sup> The regression coefficients with values of 1.1 may reflect the extremely high correlations between election pairs and the relatively small number of counties included in the sample.

TABLE 6. THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE TWO-PARTY REGISTRATION FOR FIVE STATES, 1926-40

<i>State</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1932</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1936</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>1940</i>
California	24	28	22	43	52	60	62	62
New York	48	47	50	55	60	62	56	55
Oregon	28	28	27	33	39	46	49	50
Pennsylvania	22	23	20	22	35	44	48	44
West Virginia	—	45	45	49	55	55	58	58
Total	32	35	32	41	48	54	55	53
Total (Without W. Va.)	32	34	31	40	48	54	55	53

TABLE 7. THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE TWO-PARTY REGISTRATION FOR TEN CITIES, 1926-40\*

<i>City</i>	<i>1926</i>	<i>1928</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1932</i>	<i>1934</i>	<i>1936</i>	<i>1938</i>	<i>1940</i>
Buffalo	35	36	30	36	49	47	41	42
Los Angeles	25	27	22	44	56	62	65	64
New York	70	63	73	79	82	85	81	75
Oakland	16	21	17	34	43	55	56	57
Philadelphia	05	14	07	13	36	44	45	41
Pittsburgh	08	13	07	10	39	51	58	54
Portland	25	26	25	32	40	50	52	52
Rochester	16	19	16	17	42	40	26	26
San Francisco	19	31	15	47	53	65	66	66
Syracuse	29	27	25	27	29	33	24	24
Total	36	39	36	48	58	65	63	64

\* Only cities from the five states of table 6 are included. Percentages are computed for the county in which the city is located.

multiple regression model, Democratic registration in 1928 or 1930 exerts negligible influence on presidential voting in 1936 or 1940. Table 9 discloses that only in 1934 did the coalition of Democratic registrants begin to resemble more closely the voter coalitions forged by Roosevelt from 1932 to 1940.

For the 278 counties examined here, party registration seems to have been unaffected by Al Smith's candidacy. Both metropolitan and nonmetropolitan counties emerged unscathed from the "Revolution of 1928." Changes in the percentage of registered Democrats and in the composition of party coalitions began to take place only after 1930. The patterns of change portrayed in the statistical analysis suggest, however, that for party registration alone, the period between 1932 and 1936 could reasonably be regarded as a critical era. Yet for party coalitions, changes in regression and correlation coefficients during the 1930s take place so gradually that they might reflect the normal attenuation of relationships over time rather than the effects of electoral realignment.

Further insight into partisan allegiance can be gained through the scrutiny

TABLE 8. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (*b*) AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION (*r*<sup>2</sup>) FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE TWO-PARTY REGISTRATION, 278 COUNTIES, 1926-40\*

	1926		1928		1930		1932		1934		1936		1938		1940	
	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>
1926	1	1	.86	.92	1.03	.97	.98	.82	.83	.66	.67	.49	.63	.38	.57	.32
1928			1	1	1.10	.92	1.12	.86	.95	.74	.77	.57	.75	.47	.70	.41
1930					1	1	.93	.84	.79	.69	.62	.50	.58	.39	.55	.34
1932						1	1	1	.87	.87	.74	.73	.72	.61	.70	.58
1934							1	1	1	1	.88	.89	.86	.76	.84	.72
1936								1	1	1	1	1	1	.87	.97	.83
1938													1	1	.96	.92
1940															1	1

\* Coefficients for 1926 do not include the fifty-five counties of West Virginia.

TABLE 9. REGRESSION COEFFICIENTS (*b*) AND COEFFICIENTS OF DETERMINATION (*r*<sup>2</sup>) FOR THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE TWO-PARTY REGISTRATION, 1926-40, AND THE DEMOCRATIC PERCENTAGE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1932-40, 278 COUNTIES\*

	1926		1928		1930		1932		1934		1936		1938		1940	
	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>b</i>	<i>r</i> <sup>2</sup>
1932	.35	.25	.44	.34	.33	.25	.45	.50	.52	.58	.61	.67	.58	.70	.58	.71
1936	.18	.06	.29	.12	.17	.06	.32	.21	.44	.35	.59	.53	.62	.66	.61	.66
1940	.07	.01	.20	.08	.10	.03	.21	.12	.32	.24	.44	.39	.48	.52	.49	.54

\* The registration percentage is always the independent variable; coefficients for 1926 do not include the fifty-five counties of West Virginia.

of primary election returns. For 850 counties this study measures the percentage of individuals participating in the Democratic rather than the Republican primaries. Data are reported for each presidential year from 1928 to 1940. Multiple regression analysis of Democratic primary voting in 1928 reveals that the key conflict of the general election also influenced voter behavior in the primaries. Smith's candidacy created a sharp religious cleavage of the primary electorate but failed to undermine Republican dominance or to exert durable influence on primary voting behavior. Independent of control variables, a 1 per cent change in "per cent Catholic" yields a .39 per cent change in the Democratic primary voting of 1928.<sup>44</sup> Thus, controlling for other social and economic factors, participation in the Democratic primaries increased as a county's proportion of Catholics increased. This religious division, however, did not persist in later primaries. To determine the distinctive features of the coalitions formed in the primaries of 1928, the analysis considers deviation variables obtained by subtracting in turn Democratic primary voting in 1932, 1936, and 1940 from Democratic primary voting in 1928. In each case the resulting regression coefficients for "per cent Catholic" are large and positive. Independent of control variables, a 1 per cent change in "per cent Catholic" produces a .29 per cent change in the difference between primary voting in 1928 and 1932, a .21 per cent change in the difference between primary voting in 1928 and 1936, and a .42 per cent change in the difference between primary voting in 1928 and 1940.<sup>45</sup> These statistics reveal that religious differences exercised an abnormally strong influence on the decision to participate in the Democratic primaries of 1928. Despite this temporary readjustment of the Democratic primary coalition in 1928, a meager 21 per cent of the electorate participated in the Democratic rather than the Republican primaries.

Political scientists have also posited that the upheavals accompanying fundamental alterations in electoral behavior have certain characteristic effects. A comparison of these predicted effects with the historical realities of the Smith-Hoover confrontation further suggests that voter loyalties were not transformed in 1928.

Walter Dean Burnham, writing in 1970, presented a detailed enumeration of the concomitants of the "'ideal-typical' form" of partisan realignment. First, "critical realignments are characterized by abnormally high intensity," which produces especially heavy voter turnout. Second, this intensity "spills over into the party nominating and platform writing machinery of the party most heavily affected by the pressures of realignment, . . . accepted 'rules of the game' are flouted; the party's processes, instead of performing their usual integrative functions, themselves contribute to polarization." Third, partisan realignments lead to important ideological polarizations between the major parties. Fourth, such realignments "involve constitutional readjustments in the broadest sense of the term [and] they are intimately associated with and followed by transformations in large clusters of policy. This produces pro-

<sup>44</sup> The standard error is .059.

<sup>45</sup> The standard errors are .053, .081, and .060 respectively.

found alterations in policy and influences the grand institutional structure of American government.”<sup>46</sup>

The presidential election of 1928, however, clearly exhibits only the first of these characteristics of the “‘ideal-typical’ form” of critical elections. There was intense voter interest in the Smith-Hoover confrontation and a large upsurge in voter turnout.

In 1928 hostility to the social and religious background of Al Smith was a source of some dissension within the Democratic party. Intraparty strife, however, was neither strongly ideological nor of lasting importance. Mutiny was largely confined to the South and involved very few of the major Democratic leaders in that region. Bolters quietly returned to the fold, and the South was a mainstay of the Democratic party throughout the Roosevelt years. Moreover, the “party’s processes” effectively performed their “usual integrative functions.” In their eagerness not to antagonize potential supporters, the Democrats actually abandoned several of their more controversial positions, for example, low tariff doctrine and internationalism. Only a few die-hard traditionalists opposed this pusillanimous strategy. The Democrats also papered over with compromise statements the ideological divisions within the party concerning such questions as prohibition and farm relief. Only one party leader, Governor Dan Moody of Texas, objected strongly to the platform committee’s compromise resolution on prohibition, the most explosive issue confronting the Democrats.<sup>47</sup> It was in 1924 rather than 1928 that great upheaval occurred within the “party nominating and platform writing machinery,” and polarization was so intense that the national convention divided into two warring camps. In 1928 the Democrats generally adhered to the “rules of the game,” and party machinery fostered concord rather than conflict.

There was also very little ideological polarization between the two parties in 1928. On most important questions facing the American people, Democratic and Republican positions could not be distinguished. Only the prohibition question seemed to present voters a clear-cut choice of alternative philosophies. Yet, even this issue was deliberately obscured by the Republican, and to a lesser extent by the Democratic, party.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, prohibition did not become a basis for lasting divisions between the parties.

Finally, the presidential contest of 1928 was not “intimately associated with [or] followed by transformations in large clusters of policy.” Neither did the election “produce correspondingly profound alterations in policy [or influence] the grand institutional structure of American government.” During the campaign Hoover promised faithfully to continue traditional Republican policies, and even when faced with the depression he initiated little change in

<sup>46</sup> Burnham, *Critical Elections*, 6–10.

<sup>47</sup> Democratic National Committee, “Official Report of the Proceedings of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions, Executive Session,” Key Pittman Papers, Library of Congress, box 149, *passim*; Democratic National Committee, *Official Report of the Proceedings of the Democratic National Convention of 1928* (Indianapolis, 1928), 201–04.

<sup>48</sup> Charles Merz, *Dry Decade* (Garden City, N.Y., 1931), 228–31.



public policy. In addition, Hoover's incumbency produced no notable changes in the structure of American government.<sup>49</sup>

The clash between Al Smith and Herbert Hoover does not resemble a presidential contest in which a basic realignment of the electorate was taking place. Increases in voter turnout are best explained by the intense controversy generated by Smith's Catholicism and to a lesser extent by his opposition to national prohibition. They were not the by-products of an electorate in the throes of realignment. The election did not significantly disrupt the normal processes of the two parties or produce ideological divisions that could serve as the basis of large-scale alterations in partisan commitments. And, during his incumbency, the winning candidate followed the traditional policies of his party.

It is extraordinarily difficult, however, to assess the implications for critical election models of the disparity between theoretical descriptions of "ideal-typical" realignments and the actualities of the Smith-Hoover confrontation. Political scientists have not carefully distinguished between descriptive and defining features of critical elections. Which of the factors isolated by Key and Burnham are necessary characteristics of critical elections? Are elections to be defined as "critical" strictly on the basis of their relationship to changes in party power and in the composition of voter coalitions? If so, what is the importance of such factors as intense voter interest, issue polarization, and new policy outcomes? Are they probable concomitants of elections otherwise identified as critical or realigning? Or are they merely developments that on a theoretical level political scientists believe to be associated with fundamental changes in the partisan alignments of the American electorate? The responses to these questions can determine our classification of presidential contests as well as our understanding of the relationship between electoral change and changes in governmental structure and public policy.

Traditional historical evidence also provides a useful check on the findings of quantitative analysis. Contemporary politicians, it seems, did not generally believe that a political realignment had taken place in 1928. In late 1928 and early 1929, Franklin D. Roosevelt circulated an inquiry about party affairs to Democratic leaders throughout the nation. Overall, the respondents did not suggest that Smith revolutionized the politics of their party. Some thought that his candidacy might help secure the loyalty of Catholic voters, but others claimed that Catholics were disappointed with the Democratic party. Many suggested that the party was disorganized and demoralized. Shortly after the election the Republican National Committee asked a group of state and local leaders to dissect the presidential vote in their respective bailiwicks. After examining the responses to its survey, the committee concluded that the Democrats had made temporary gains among some groups of voters, but that normal party alignments would prevail in the future.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> The best analysis of Hoover's policies is provided by Harris G. Warren, *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression* (New York, 1959).

<sup>50</sup> Democratic National Campaign Committee Correspondence, 1928-1933, Before Convention Collection, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.; Presidential Campaign Collection, Herbert Hoover Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa.

Similarly, James A. Farley recalled that the Smith-Hoover confrontation did not importantly influence the two elections he managed for Franklin Roosevelt. "In 1932," he states, "the only influence of the 1928 election was to eliminate Smith as the leading contender for the Democratic Presidential nomination."<sup>51</sup>

The implications of this qualitative evidence emphasize the importance of integrating quantitative analysis and traditional historical research. A detailed knowledge of the historical events being studied helps an investigator both to design quantitative research and to interpret its results. Moreover, warning signals should be immediately triggered by radical disparities between the messages received from quantitative and qualitative evidence. Efforts to cope with such disparities can generate fundamental revisions in research, analysis, and interpretation.

Through multiple levels of quantitative and qualitative analysis, this study demonstrates that the presidential election of 1928 did not produce drastic, durable changes in the composition of electoral coalitions or in the balance of party power. The election did, however, influence later Democratic successes in two ways. As a result of Hoover's victory the GOP became associated with the horrors of depression. Smith's defeat, on the other hand, motivated Democratic leaders, for the first time, to keep the Democratic National Committee functioning in the periods between presidential elections. During the dark days of Hoover's incumbency, the Democratic organization was an important source of antiadministration propaganda.<sup>52</sup>

Undeniably, during the Great Depression, the balance of party power dramatically shifted in favor of the Democrats. For the 1920s and 1930s, changes in political power more neatly fit the critical election paradigm than do changes in the composition of voter coalitions. Between 1928 and 1936 the proportion of voters in the 850 sample counties participating in the Democratic rather than the Republican primaries increased twofold. Similarly, the proportion of voters registering as Democrats rather than Republicans increased by 54 per cent in the 278 sample counties. Whether considered critical or maintaining by political theorists, however, each of the three presidential elections between 1932 and 1940 played an important role in the renaissance of the Democratic party.

In 1928 Herbert Hoover represented for many Americans the buoyant optimism of prosperity; four years later he symbolized the hardship and heartbreak of the depression. Hungering for new leadership, a substantial majority of voters opted for the Democratic candidate, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Throughout the nation, according to correspondence received by the national headquarters of both parties, traditional Republicans planned to vote for Roosevelt in 1932.<sup>53</sup>

Yet Roosevelt's victory in 1932 did not itself reverse the fortunes of the

<sup>51</sup> Interview with James A. Farley, Jan. 27, 1971, New York City.

<sup>52</sup> See, for example, Charles Michelson, *The Ghost Talks* (New York, 1944).

<sup>53</sup> Democratic National Campaign Committee Correspondence, 1928-1933, Before Election Collection; Herbert Hoover Papers, Presidential Subject file.

Democratic party. In 1932 the proportion of Democratic primary voters in the sample was 33 per cent; in 1936 this proportion increased to 42 per cent and remained at that level through 1940. Similarly, between 1932 and 1936 the proportion of Democratic registrants in the sample increased from 41 to 54 per cent and remained roughly constant through 1940. Roosevelt's victory chiefly reflected the weakness of Herbert Hoover, not the strength of a burgeoning Democratic majority. Roosevelt raised few divisive issues in 1932. His campaign offered something for everybody and did not set forth a coherent alternative to the policies and ideology of the GOP.<sup>54</sup>

Changes in voting habits are not the inevitable result of social and economic change. Contrary to the mechanism implicit in most discussions of critical election theory, voting cycles do not ebb and flow with automatic, tidal regularity. Historical events create opportunities that can be exploited by shrewd political strategy and responsive policy or squandered by political blunders and unwise policy. During his first four years Franklin D. Roosevelt effectively channeled public opinion in support of himself and his party. Roosevelt was an unusually charismatic and ebullient leader and a master of political persuasion. The programs of the New Deal and Roosevelt's spirited rhetoric provided the ideological and emotional foundation for a new Democratic majority.

Probably because the "New Deal coalition" seemed fully fashioned by 1936, political authorities have regarded the election of 1940 as a classic maintaining election that played no important role in realigning the electorate. Yet more careful analysis reveals that events culminating in the clash between Franklin Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie were crucial to the maintenance of Democratic predominance. Public opinion polls conducted in 1938 and 1939 suggest that a majority of voters were disillusioned with the New Deal and hostile to the idea of a third term for President Roosevelt.<sup>55</sup> Had this gloomy situation failed to improve, it is unlikely that Roosevelt would have sought or could have attained re-election. The Democrats had no other promising candidate, and Republicans anticipated their first presidential victory since 1928. Some journalists even predicted that the aberrations of 1932 and 1936 had passed and the nation was returning to its normal Republican majority. The public opinion polls of 1940 suggest that only the events of World War II motivated Roosevelt to seek re-election and made a third term palatable to the American public.<sup>56</sup>

ALTHOUGH POLITICAL SCIENTISTS have not carefully analyzed the causes of critical elections, they have suggested that these elections generally accom-

<sup>54</sup> Roy V. Peel and Thomas C. Donnelly, *The 1932 Campaign: An Analysis* (New York, 1935), 123-79; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York, 1965), 9-17.

<sup>55</sup> In December 1938, for example, the Gallup poll reported that 70 per cent of a national cross-section of potential voters opposed a third term for President Roosevelt. George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935-1971* (New York, 1972), 1: 129.

<sup>56</sup> Gallup found that in October 1940, 53 per cent of a national cross-section claimed that they would favor Wendell Willkie rather than Franklin D. Roosevelt if "there were no war in Europe today." *Ibid.*, 247.

pany such national crises as war or depression. They imply that the partisan realignments associated with critical elections flow not from the personal appeals of competing candidates, but from the ramifications of these crises. Angus Campbell and his coauthors argue in the highly influential *Elections and the Political Order*, "Realigning elections have not been dominated by presidential candidates who came into office on a wave of great personal popularity. . . . The quality which distinguished the elections in which they came into power was the presence of a great national crisis, leading to a conflict regarding governmental policies and the association of the two major parties with relatively clearly contrasting programs for its solution."<sup>57</sup>

The presidential election of 1928 does not fit this pattern. The campaign occurred during a relatively tranquil period of American history and the policy positions of the two parties presented few important contrasts. Its realigning influences are generally attributed to voter reaction to the personality and background of Al Smith.

This study has demonstrated, however, that there was no "Al Smith Revolution." Neither quantitative nor qualitative evidence reveals the presidential election of 1928 to be a decisive turning point in American political history. Given the fleeting quality of the electoral alignments engendered by Smith's candidacy and the discontinuity of the depression, it is likely that had the Democrats nominated another party leader—such as Albert Ritchie, Thomas Walsh, or Carter Glass—to oppose Herbert Hoover, the decision would scarcely have affected the next three presidential contests. The distinctive feature of the election of 1928 was the appearance of a deep-seated cultural conflict between Protestants and Catholics. In causal terms the election was important chiefly because the Democrats lost and a Republican administration presided over three years of economic depression.

By assigning the election of 1928 a bit part in the realignment drama of twentieth-century America, these conclusions question ethnocultural interpretations of electoral change. For the period considered here, transformations of party power did not coincide with peaks of ethnocultural conflict, and the Roosevelt realignment did not neatly cleave the "old" and the "new" America. Changes in economic status or in the perception of economic opportunities seem to have been the prime generators of change in political allegiance. Ethnic and religious differences produced great turmoil in the 1920s, but party power shifted only in response to economic crisis.

This reassessment of the contest of 1928 also challenges pluralist interpretations of twentieth-century reform. Only if this contest were a turning point in electoral history could the pluralists sustain their argument that 1928 marked a transition between the moralistic extremism of the Populist and Progressive traditions and the pragmatism of New Deal reform. Pluralist historians also regard LaFollette's candidacy in 1924 as the last gasp of the old-style protest politics they find so distasteful. Yet statistical analysis reveals the combined Democratic-Progressive vote of 1924 to be at least as accurate a

<sup>57</sup> Campbell et al., *Elections and the Political Order*, 76–77.

precursor of New Deal voting alignments as the Democratic vote of 1928. Democratic voting in 1932 and 1936 more closely reflected the combined Davis-LaFollette vote, whereas Democratic voting in 1940 more closely reflected the vote for Al Smith. Moreover, the religious conflicts that highlighted the contest of 1928 scarcely portend the sensible, tolerant pragmatism of new-style reform. As Rogin notes in his analysis of pluralist interpretations of McCarthyism, historians need to re-evaluate carefully the connections between protest movements in twentieth-century American history.<sup>58</sup> Certainly there is much greater continuity between the electoral coalitions forged by LaFollette and FDR than pluralist historians have suspected.

Qualitative analysis of Al Smith's 1928 campaign emphasizes the incongruity of hailing his candidacy as the harbinger of a new reform tradition. Smith's positions on national issues failed to challenge the status quo. Despite the governor's humble origins, his reasonably progressive record in state politics, his Catholicism, and his association with the immigrant masses, his policy proposals were scarcely more venturesome than those of Herbert Hoover. His candidacy did not promise to improve the lives of disadvantaged Americans by altering the nation's lopsided distribution of wealth and power. Yet lower-class Catholics and members of some ethnic groups could still feel that Smith was their champion because they could identify with the image he projected. From this perspective Smith's bid for the presidency was a conservative influence on American life.

The present study also re-evaluates critical election theory. Historical analysis can be enriched by the explicit use of such social science models as critical election theory. They can help the historian interpret past events and enable him to use deductive reasoning to fill gaps in his empirical knowledge. But historians should treat these models with open-minded skepticism. They should carefully evaluate a model's logical coherence and explanatory power, and they should realize that historical research can test the validity of a social science model. If the assumptions or predictions of a model do not conform to historical reality, the model itself should be modified or abandoned.

Voter behavior in the presidential elections of 1916 to 1940 does not neatly fit the predictions of critical election theory. There is both more stability and volatility in electoral coalitions than this political theory would suggest. No critical election or critical era obliterates the voter coalitions of 1916 and introduces a new period of stability. Yet there is instability in voter alignments throughout the period. Perhaps a modified version of the critical election story could be salvaged from the data by declaring the period from 1916 to 1936 a critical era of realignment. But it is doubtful that a critical period encompassing twenty years and enormous diversity in the political, social, and economic life of the nation has genuine substantive meaning. Rather, this hypothesis best illustrates the slipperiness of the critical era concept.

Conceptually, critical election theory does establish one useful perspective

<sup>58</sup> Rogin, *The Intellectuals and McCarthy*, 1-31, 261-82.

on American electoral history. Nonetheless, key features of the theory can impede our understanding of historical change. In its current form critical election theory creates categories of elections that obscure important analytical distinctions. To solve this problem by increasing the refinement of electoral typologies is to aggravate the problem of classifying individual elections. Since there are no clear dividing lines between the various types of elections, the greater the number of subdivisions, the greater the uncertainty faced by an investigator seeking to categorize particular contests. Additional uncertainty is created by the lack of guidelines for identifying critical eras of electoral change. Critical election theory lacks causal precision and thus can overemphasize the importance of some elections—for example, the presidential election of 1928—while obscuring the significance of others—for example, the presidential election of 1940. The theory also incorporates conflicting definitions of realigning elections and perpetuates mechanistic interpretations of electoral realignments that slight the importance of political leadership.

Even if these internal weaknesses could be shored up, critical election theory would still limit and even distort the analysis of American political history. By failing to distinguish between changes that simply reshuffle voter alignments and changes that alter the underlying basis of voter decisions, the theory blurs distinct varieties of electoral change. Critical election theory also incorporates dubious assumptions about the relationship between electoral change and changes in the broader context of American politics. Theoreticians and researchers have neither clearly specified nor empirically validated linkages between the rhythms of electoral realignment and transformations in political ideology, public policy, and governmental structure.

The results of this study also point toward new ways of periodizing American political history, which deserve mention even if they cannot be developed in this article. Voter behavior in the presidential elections of 1916–40 reveals that seemingly moribund coalitions may prove highly tenacious, whereas the issues and personalities of particular elections can create considerable variation in voter alignments. This finding does not mean that historians should discard the notion that party loyalties remain relatively stable until jolted by a national crisis. But stability in party identification does not necessarily produce stability in presidential voting. While it has proved to be the best single predictor of voter choice, party loyalty is only one of the many influences on the decision to support one candidate rather than another.<sup>59</sup> In the twentieth century, party identification may have become sufficiently tenuous and presidential elections sufficiently important and well publicized to produce substantial volatility in the response to presidential elections.<sup>60</sup>

The complex patterns of voter behavior in early twentieth-century presidential elections may reflect a systematic change in the American electoral system

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, Campbell *et al.*, *The American Voter*, 120–67.

<sup>60</sup> Robert Axelrod, "Where the Votes Came From: An Analysis of Electoral Coalitions, 1952–1968," *American Political Science Review*, 66 (1972): 11–20, found considerable instability in voter coalitions. Flanigan and Zingales found substantially more instability in presidential elections of the twentieth than the nineteenth century. "Measurement of Electoral Change," 65–69.



that occurred in the late nineteenth century. E. E. Schattschneider, Richard Jensen, and Walter Dean Burnham have argued that the political upheavals of the 1890s loosened the bonds of party loyalty and established a more fluid system of political competition. Their work suggests that in the twentieth century, voter behavior is likely to be more susceptible to the issues and personalities of particular elections, and electoral change to be less abrupt and decisive.<sup>61</sup>

It is important to distinguish between changes in electoral behavior that fit the contours of critical election theory and changes that affect the determinants of the voting decision. If critical election theory itself more accurately describes nineteenth- than twentieth-century elections, the 1890s could be seen as a critical period, not in the traditional sense of the theory, but in the sense of introducing a qualitatively different era of electoral politics. Perhaps the complexity of temporal changes in voter behavior can be portrayed only through a new periodization of American political history. Historians need to re-examine the American past, searching not only for transitions that shuffle voter coalitions and shift the balance of party power, but also for transitions that qualitatively change the prevailing system of electoral politics.

Critical election theory may also apply better to twentieth-century congressional, state, and local elections than to presidential contests. Because the former elections generate less interest and information than presidential confrontations, voters may be more likely to rely on such rules of thumb as party identification.

Moreover, different localities and different subgroups of voters may experience critical realignments at different intervals of time, and may also exhibit qualitatively different patterns of voting behavior.<sup>62</sup> The empirical analysis of the present study applies only to the nation as a whole—outside the Old South—and to the entire voting population. Such factors as the special interests and outlook of class and ethnic groups, the strength of party organi-

<sup>61</sup> E. E. Schattschneider, *The Semisovereign People: A Realist's View of Democracy in America* (New York, 1960), 78–85; Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflict, 1888–1896* (Chicago, 1971), 306–08; Burnham, *Critical Elections*; and Burnham, "Theory and Voting Research: Some Reflections on Converse's Change in the American Electorate," *American Political Science Review*, 68 (1974): 1002–23. Other authorities suggest that changes in the legal framework of electoral competition (e.g., adoption of the Australian ballot) was the critical factor in generating a more fluid system of electoral politics. See, for example, Jerrold G. Rusk, "The Effect of the Australian Ballot Reform on Split-Ticket Voting: 1870–1908," *American Political Science Review*, 64 (1970): 1220–38; and Rusk, "The American Electoral Universe: Speculation and Evidence," *American Political Science Review*, 68 (1974): 1028–49.

<sup>62</sup> This statement does not indicate that I believe Key was correct in pointing to 1928 as a critical election for New England. An analysis of the New England region similar to the analysis performed here for the nation suggests no important differences in interpretation. Moreover, with regard to Massachusetts—Key's best example of a state undergoing realignment in 1928—Massey, in "The Democratic Laggard," demonstrates that increases in Democratic voting in 1928 were due primarily to the unique issues of that election (i.e., religion) and that Massachusetts was a laggard rather than a leader in the Democratic resurgence of the 1930s. In light of the present study it is hardly surprising that a heavily Irish-Catholic state should provide unusually high levels of support for Al Smith. Key's similar findings for New Hampshire can likewise be explained by the high incidence of French Canadians in that state. Indeed, a multiple regression analysis of Democratic voting in 1928 demonstrated that of all predominantly Catholic ethnic groups Irish Catholics were Al Smith's strongest supporters and French Canadians his second strongest supporters. See Lichtman, "A Quantitative Analysis," 190–91. Once again electoral trends of the 1930s cannot be attributed to the same causal forces that produced the political patterns of 1928.

zation in different localities, and the interactions between state, local, and national politics may produce distinct varieties of political behavior for various subgroups of the American electorate.

Critical election theory applies a rigid determinism to the time and space of American politics. Movement across the American political universe may not only recast voter loyalties but may also modify the causal forces underlying voter decisions. American political history is undoubtedly a multidimensional system, including at least the four dimensions of time, jurisdictional level, geographic location, and voter type. Not only must all dimensions be considered in a complete theory, but changes in one or more dimensions may require qualitatively different models of political behavior. Critical election theory, despite its impressive social science credentials, can blind historians to the rich variety of American electoral history.

# APPENDIX Explanation of Variables

Variable	Definition	Source
Per cent Democratic 1916-40*	the Democratic percentage of the presidential vote for the elections of 1916-40	state and local records
Per cent Democratic-Progressive 1924*	the combined Democratic and Progressive party percentage of the presidential vote for the election of 1924	state and local records
Per cent Democratic registrants 1926-40	the Democratic percentage of those registering as Republicans or Democrats, two-year intervals, 1926-40	California Secretary of State, <i>Statement of the Vote, 1926-1940</i> ; Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, <i>The Pennsylvania Manual, 1927-1941</i> ; New York Secretary of State, <i>Manual for the Use of the Legislature, 1927-1941</i> ; State of Oregon, <i>The Oregon Blue Book, 1927-1941</i> ; West Virginia Clerk of the Senate, <i>Legislative Handbook and Manual, 1928-1940</i> .
Per cent Catholic 1926, 1928, 1932	the percentage of Catholics in 1926, 1928, and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Religious Bodies, 1926</i> , vol. 1, table 32; and <i>Religious Bodies, 1936</i> , vol. 1, table 32. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by a linear interpolation of statistics for 1926 and 1936.
Per cent urban 1930, 1932*	the percentage of urbanites in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Population, 1930</i> , vol. 3, table 13; and <i>Population, 1940</i> , vol. 1, table 3. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
Per cent foreign stock 1930, 1932*	the percentage of individuals who are white and are either foreign-born or have a foreign-born parent in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Population, 1930</i> , vol. 3, table 13; and <i>Population, 1940</i> , vol. 2, table 21. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
Per cent home owners 1930, 1932	the percentage of families owning their homes in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Families, 1930</i> , vol. 6, tables 19, 20; and <i>Housing, 1940</i> , vol. 2, table 22. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
Per cent telephone owners 1930, 1932	the percentage of families owning telephones in 1930 and 1932	American Telephone and Telegraph Co., New York City. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation from statistics for 1930 and 1935.
Per cent taxpayers 1928, 1932	the percentage of adults filing income tax returns in 1928 and 1932	U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, <i>Individual Income Tax Returns for 1928</i> and <i>Individual Income Tax Returns for 1932</i> .
Per cent radio owners 1930, 1932	the percentage of families owning radios in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Families, 1930</i> , vol. 6, table 20; also <i>Housing, 1940</i> , vol. 2, table 23.

# APPENDIX—Continued

Variable	Definition	Source
Retail purchases 1929, 1933	per capita purchases of retail goods for 1929 and 1933	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Distribution, 1930</i> , vol. 1: <i>Retail Distribution</i> , table 13; and <i>Census of American Business, 1933</i> , <i>Retail Distribution</i> , vol. 3, table 11. Both census volumes report statistics of retail sales rather than purchases. Estimates of retail purchases are preferable, however, because the per capita volume of retail sales will overestimate the economic status of counties that tend to attract buyers from other counties and underestimate the status of counties that tend to lose buyers to other counties. For 1939 statistics of retail sales the Magazine Marketing Service determined the number of retail purchases in each of the nation's counties. The retail purchase variable used in this study was obtained by multiplying retail sales in 1929 and 1933 by the ratio of retail sales to purchases in 1939. For an analysis of the service's study and the applicability of their findings for earlier years, see Magazine Marketing Service, <i>M.M.S. County Buying Power Index</i> (New York, 1942), 1-50.
Housing values 1930, 1932	the median value of homes and rented dwellings in 1930 and 1932	U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, <i>Families, 1930</i> , vol. 6, tables 19, 20; and <i>Housing, 1940</i> , vol. 2, tables 24, 25, 26. The housing values used in this study is the mean (weighted according to the number of families) nonfarm median home valuation, farm median home valuation, nonfarm median rental costs, and farm median rental costs. Home valuations and rental costs were transformed into common units by multiplying weekly rents by 100. Statistics for 1932 were obtained by linear interpolation.
ECON28	an index number consisting of an unweighted sum of the following variables after they have been transformed into standard deviation units: per cent telephone owners 1930, per cent taxpayers 1928, per cent radio owners 1930, retail purchases 1929, and housing values 1930	

an index number consisting of an un-weighted sum of the following variables after they have been transformed into standard deviation units: per cent telephone owners 1930, per cent taxpayers 1928, per cent radio owners 1932, retail purchases 1933, and housing values 1932 the percentages of individuals in 1930 born in Scandinavia, Germany, Italy, Poland, England, Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Canada (French-speaking), Canada (English-speaking), Southern Ireland, Russia

Per cent Scandinavian 1930\*  
 Per cent German 1930\*  
 Per cent Italian 1930\*  
 Per cent Polish 1930\*  
 Per cent British 1930\*  
 Per cent French  
 Canadian 1930\*  
 Per cent British  
 Canadian 1930\*  
 Per cent Irish 1930\*  
 Per cent Russian 1930\*

U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Population, 1930*, vol. 3, pt. 1, table 18.

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\* These statistics were obtained from the data archives of the Inter-University Consortium for Political Research of the University of Michigan.

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## Reviews of Books

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### GENERAL

PETER GAY. *Style in History*. New York: Basic Books. 1974. Pp. xiii, 242. \$8.95.

A good book on an important subject by a major historian is a rarity. When one does come along it is a joy. This is one.

Peter Gay is treating style on the highest conceivable level. He is not primarily concerned with style as a search for clarity or as literary criticism, though he certainly recognizes the importance of both. To him a historian's style reveals unusual, indeed unique insights into the historian's personality and into the age in which the historian lived. But what is more important, Gay is concerned with style as an expression of insight and understanding, an expression of knowledge and commitment, a quality of vision, in short, style as philosophic perception.

The author says in his introduction that he offers this book as a contribution to the long debate over the nature of history—the debate between idealists and positivists on objectivity, bias, perception, intuition, science, and art.

After the reader has finished Gay's introduction and proceeds into the first two essays—the book is made up of five essays, four on individual historians and one forming a conclusion—he begins to wonder what the author's contribution to the debate is. There is nothing here about the definition of history. But the reader soon forgets his own question, for he is drawn to Gibbon's irony and penetration and moved by Ranke's devout commitment and sense of drama, to say nothing of Gay's skill and charm, and he reads on, delighted. And as he moves along the reader begins to suspect what the author is up to.

This suspicion is confirmed in the essay on Macaulay, where Gay's design becomes evident and the reason for his failure to mention the great debate becomes clear. The author is not presenting another analytical exposition on the philoso-

phy of history. His method is far more subtle; it is the method of the literary artist. Gay is practicing what he is preaching and doing it brilliantly. He is creating a little dramatic presentation of his own, with characters, situations, and complications. The reader is appreciative and eager. Will the resolution come in the next essay?

No, it does not. But what a marvelous fourth character is Burckhardt, the erudite, scholarly gentleman guiding his reader through Renaissance Italy, rendering confident judgments, and enchanting his guest with personal observations. At the end of the tour the reader is exhilarated, his mind racing. He needs something to help him straighten out his thoughts.

And there it is, in the conclusion—the resolution. There Peter Gay gathers up thoughts raised in the reader's mind and sets them into the context of the great debate. He comes down on the side of the idealists with a splendidly and sensibly worked argument, best summarized in his own words: "Style is the art of the historian's science."

JERAH JOHNSON  
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DERRICK SHERWIN BAILEY. *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1975. Pp. xii, 181. \$9.50.

Times change and with them historical perceptions. This is a reprinting of a work now twenty years old (originally published in 1955), dealing with some aspects of homosexuality in history. It is a welcome note to include reference to the book in the *AHR*, since the topic in the past has been ignored by most historians. Bailey, a clergyman, examined Biblical and ecclesiastical attitudes to homosexual practices as well as the contributions of Roman law and medieval thought to the views current in Western culture when he wrote. He also included some of the views of the sixteenth-century Protestant writers. In the process of his exam-



ination Bailey sought to correct what he felt were misstatements about the Christian position made by earlier writers such as Havelock Ellis and Edward Westermarck. Thus the work also has to be looked upon as part Christian apologetics. Bailey, however, was a scholar, and he was careful to point out that the Christian Church could not be entirely exonerated from all responsibility for hostility toward homosexuality, or for the severe penalties often imposed upon homosexuals in the past.

In keeping with his conception of the Christian tradition, Bailey examined all possible Biblical references to homosexuality and gave special attention to some of the misconceptions arising out of the story of Sodom. He concluded that the traditional view of Sodom received little support from the Jewish Scriptures and that many of the condemnations of sexual variance were read into the Scriptures by later Jewish and Christian writers. These same condemnations were ultimately incorporated into Roman law, inculcated in the Christian mind through the early penitential literature, imprinted into canon law, and forged into a strong Christian tradition. But if times change, so does historical scholarship. Since Bailey wrote, there has been considerable investigation into some of these same problems, and while there has been no basic challenge to Bailey's outline of events, there has been a great deal of study on how and why hostility to homosexuality developed within the Christian tradition. Thus Bailey remains a good beginning point for interested readers, but he should be supplemented by others such as Arthur Vööbus, John T. Noonan, James Brundage, and myself, for causal explanations. Recent scholarship, for example, has demonstrated the continuing influence of certain Greek dualistic beliefs, particularly those associated with Neoplatonism and Neo-Pythagoreanism, in forming Christian sexual attitudes. This topic was totally ignored by Bailey, perhaps because much of the scholarship on the subject has come in the past three decades. Moreover the term "sodomy," which Bailey usually equates with homosexuality, was much more ambiguously applied by earlier writers than Bailey realized; in fact much of what Bailey said about homosexuality could be applied to all nonprocreative sexual activity. In short Bailey's book is a pioneering study, much needed at the time he wrote and still invaluable to all historians interested in the topic. It is not, however, the final word on the topic, and much scholarship has been devoted to the topic since the book appeared. Undoubtedly now that the *AHR* is also expressing an interest in previously "forbidden" areas of scholarship, research will expand at a rapid rate. Bailey's book, however, will serve as a

good starting point and should be in every university and college library.

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Northridge

EDWARD DUDLEY and MAXIMILLIAN E. NOVAK, editors. *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism.* [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1972. Pp. xi, 333. \$11.95.

Western civilization's myth of the Wild Man is as ancient as Cain. The image enabled Old Testament Hebrews to drape the condition of wildness over flesh and blood, and it assisted Greeks and Romans in portraying the state of those who lived without law. For medieval Christians the Wild Man remained an animallike outcast, loathed and feared, enjoying none of the advantages of reason or divine grace. Neither did he suffer, however, from the restraints laid upon those belonging to families, political communities, and churches. By the fifteenth century, when the recovery of classical culture and vindication of nature accompanied the disintegration of medieval civilization, the notion of wildness assumed a heightened ambivalence. Increasingly demythologized, the Wild Man became an important subject in fiction and a vehicle for social criticism. The great geographical discoveries brought Europeans into close contact with what many considered to be genuine wild men, and the perversion of Christendom's civilizing mission into a lust for land, silver, and power stimulated intellectuals into developing the archetypal Noble Savage in response to those upholding the supposed moral superiority of European civilization over other cultures. Late in the eighteenth century the debate expanded. Romantic novelists and poets contrasted the wildly vigorous humanity of fictionalized Tahitians, highlanders, American Indians, and Albanians with the repressed humanity of more sophisticated beings. On the other hand, self-avowed defenders of European civilization invented the pseudoscience of race at the expense of the wilder and darker peoples.

In our own time psychology has expropriated wildness from traditional myth and fiction, and the reality of the condition has been interiorized as Jung's uneducable unconscious. From the Renaissance to the Romantic era, of course, the Wild Man, as Peter L. Thorslev, Jr. points out, "has stood as the civilized man's projection upon the outside world of his own desires and values: both those he would not hesitate to acknowledge . . . and also those darker impulses which he attempts to suppress or hide" (p. 305). By and large, all

eleven essays in this volume, written by historians, professors of literature, and a political scientist, consider the problem of this projection. Following Hayden White's thoughtful delineation of the archeology of wildness, Stanley L. Robe and Gary B. Nash approach the key historical moments when Spaniards and Englishmen respectively encountered humans in the New World who were very different from themselves in appearance and social habits. Robe's somewhat overgenerous conclusion on how the Spaniards came to terms with Indians contrasts with Nash's description of the Virginia settlers' initial failure to do so. In the eighteenth century, however, some articulate Virginians sacrificed convenient views of the Indians' unredemptive irrationality for a certain appreciation of Indian culture on its own terms, reflections perhaps of the guilt feelings of the conqueror.

Other contributions of special interest to the historian include Richard Ashcraft's superb essay on the appeal of Hobbes both to contemporaries and eighteenth-century liberals fearful of a return to a state of wildness/anarchy associated with the Civil War. Geoffrey Symcox suggests that in his second *Discourse* Rousseau revitalized the Noble Savage of the Enlightenment, endowed him with emotions, underscored his psychic reality within all beings, and thereby created a "dynamic model of human nature." John Burke contends that the nonempirical methods of modern ethnology, anthropology, and psychology re-created Wild Man mythmaking, this time in the service of racist thought. Of the essays that consider the concept of wildness in literary perspective, Peter L. Thorslev merits special mention for his panoramic analysis of the ways in which the Romantics treated the theme. As might be expected, the volume betrays some unevenness of approach, and it is a pity that anthropologists, art historians, and psychologists are missing from the list of contributors. Nevertheless, the coeditors, Dudley and Novak, deserve commendation for drawing attention to a familiar, though often neglected, image in Western thought.

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J. H. PARRY. *The Discovery of the Sea*. New York: Dial Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 302. \$20.00.

The first question that the potential reader may ask is: if I have read, marked, learned, and inwardly digested J. H. Parry's *The Age of Reconnaissance* (1963), is it necessary for me to read *The Discovery of the Sea*? To which the reply is: not absolutely necessary, perhaps, but highly advisable. *The Age of Reconnaissance* deservedly ranks as the standard one-volume work on the history of European maritime exploration, and a good deal

of it is, inevitably, incorporated in *The Discovery of the Sea*, sometimes with a little rewording or shift of emphasis. But the time span is very different. *The Age of Reconnaissance* covers the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, whereas *The Discovery of the Sea* ends with the globe-girdling voyage of the *Victoria* in 1519–22.

Professor Parry reminds us, as Joseph Needham has often done, that Chinese seamen and Chinese ships were perfectly capable of circumnavigating Africa and opening direct maritime communication between Asia and Europe, if the rulers of the Ming dynasty had continued the expansion policy epitomized by the formidable fleets organized—and most of them commanded—by the eunuch admiral, Cheng Ho, between 1405 and 1433. The Chinese fleets got as far south as Malindi on the East African coast in their search for "auspicious giraffes" before these costly expeditions were abandoned and China retreated within a voluntarily imposed isolationist shell. Similarly, as Parry shows, the Arabs of the Indian Ocean must be ranged among the maritime peoples who, in the fifteenth century, could have circumnavigated Africa and perhaps crossed the Pacific, if they had tried to do so.

Yet, as we all know, it was neither the Chinese nor the Arabs who opened up the sea route between Europe and the Far East, but the Portuguese—those "Kaffirs of Europe" as Padre António Vieira, S.J. (1608–97) termed his compatriots in moments of exasperation. Portuguese seamen were certainly no better, by and large, than were Chinese, Arabs, Basques, or Scandinavians, and there were far fewer of them. But Portugal was the first country in the world in which overseas exploration was actively supported over a long period of time by the Crown. The occupants of the Dragon Throne lost interest in Chinese maritime expansion after 1433. The warring Muslim monarchs of Asia and the Near East seem to have shared the opinion of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat that "wars by sea are merchants' affairs, and of no concern to the prestige of kings." On the other hand, the monarchs and/or the princes of the House of Aviz either took the lead themselves in organizing voyages of discovery or else they gave active and continuing support to adventurers and discoverers from 1419 onward. The Castilian Crown "got into the act" somewhat later but made up for the lost time by backing both Columbus, rather belatedly, and Magellan.

Parry writes with his invariable lucidity and elegance about the European and Asian maritime techniques of the Discovery period, and all those interested in such comparisons will find this book richly rewarding. It is lavishly illustrated, but the coffee-table format has involved a correspondingly

high price, and the sooner a paperback edition is available for students, the better.

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STANLEY L. ENGERMAN and EUGENE D. GENOVESE, editors. *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975. Pp. xv, 556. Cloth \$20.00, paper \$9.75.

The last quarter century has witnessed a revolution in disciplinary methodologies and a reassessment of what constitutes historical evidence. A relationship, based on mutual respect rather than mutual admiration, has developed between historians and anthropologists. Historians have been less willing to accept an anthropological perspective, as part of their intellectual apparatus, than anthropologists have been willing to be historically conscious. Recently, areas long considered the prerogative of the historian have been studied by economists and scholars versed in the mathematical sciences. Warily, but with decreasing reluctance, historians have realized that much can be learned from subjecting historical sources to mathematical analysis. This volume brings a variety of mathematical techniques to bear on the supposedly well studied Atlantic slave trade and black slavery in the New World.

Originally presented at the Mathematical Social Science Board Conference on Systems of Slavery held at the University of Rochester in 1972, the papers have been divided into four categories: the slave trade, the social and demographic aspects of slave populations, the slave and free person of color in an urban environment, and the post-emancipation response. Summary remarks are by the editors, and Sidney Mintz provides an anthropological perspective. Despite the avowed intent to treat slavery from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the more mathematical papers focus on the later period. Emphasis is on the English-speaking Atlantic world, the Caribbean, and North America. South America merits a scant two essays, although the Portuguese initiated large-scale plantation slavery in the New World. Dutch, French, and Danish America are ignored. Slaves not of African descent are disregarded. The editorial apology for this imbalance is that the papers were chosen for their approaches rather than their geographical or chronological coverage.

The denominator common to the sixteen papers is the quantification of historical data. Techniques range from the sophisticated to the basic counting of cases. Claudia Goldin uses statistical regression analyses to develop slave supply-and-demand schedules for ten United States cities in the period

1820-60. Richard Sutch relates the applicability of the competitive market model to the slave economy in an essay on slave breeding. Cross tabulations and comparative methods are employed by Theodore Herschberg to study antebellum Philadelphia. Roger Anstey examines new evidence on the origin of slaves, the profitability of the slave trade, and its contribution to the Industrial Revolution. Starting from a basic supply-and-demand model Phillip LeVeen assesses the impact of British suppression policies on the cost and volume of the slave trade in the nineteenth century. For the nonmathematician, Jack Eblen provides a step-by-step analysis of demographic changes in the black population of Cuba in the years 1775-1900. More traditional treatments of numerical data are the essays by Frederick Bowser, Mary Karasch, and Johannes Postma on free blacks in Mexico City, Lima, and Rio de Janeiro and African origins of slaves transported by the Dutch. Richard Sheridan and K. G. Davies on medical aspects of the slave trade and slavery, Colin Palmer in his discussion of religion and magic in colonial Mexico, and Alan Adamson on labor in postemancipation British Guiana have adopted essentially narrative approaches. The most felicitous melding of traditional and innovative methodologies is Peter Wood's exposition on how demography helped to shape the settlement of South Carolina and the emergence of a black majority after 1700.

A prime benefit of using the tools of economics to force open historical coffers is the exploring or rediscovering of sources disregarded by historians who either failed to appreciate the importance of predominantly numerical data as potential materials or were discouraged by the sheer bulk of evidence that only now has become manageable with sophisticated sampling methods and computer analysis. In these essays this "new" evidence—censuses, clearance lists, fiscal ledgers, notarial records, export-import shipping data—has been "squeezed." Such aggregate evidence provides an overall view of a historical era such as would be impossible from individual records, even if they were to exist. The application of a new methodology and new technical aids to these data has brought fresh understanding of the origins of slaves transported to the Americas, the mechanics of the trade, and details on migration, social mobility, and family composition that contribute to our appreciation of the life-styles of blacks in the New World.

That learned heads would roll might be expected from such innovation. That this is not the case says much for the viability of more traditional approaches, while taking the sting from those critics who still view cliometricians as brash interlopers. Patent is the realization that solutions

based on econometric techniques are at best partial. Richard Wade's views on urban slavery in the United States are challenged by Goldin, who uses an economic model to rationalize changes in slave populations and stresses the elasticity of demand in the cities and rural areas. Her conclusion that demand in the urban South was not decreasing is acceptable within an economic framework for the span of forty years, but it does not inherently undermine Wade's general thesis on the decline of urban slavery. Anstey modifies Eric Williams's *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944) in some respects and shows that, with possible local exceptions, profits derived from the slave trade contributed minimally to the Industrial Revolution. Anstey's views on the low profit margin of the slave trade are confirmed by the Dutch Middleburg Company. Going beyond published sources available to Philip Curtin, Anstey and Postma assemble new data on the shifting coastal distribution of places of origin of slaves. Anstey and LeVeen revise Curtin's figures for the trade, and LeVeen illustrates that the cost effectiveness of British suppression policies was more pronounced than hitherto thought. This new evidence reinforces Curtin's thesis on the general pattern of supply for the trade.

While not sufficiently serious to constitute pitfalls, some tendencies in some essays merit a caveat. Deductions are drawn from raw numerical data without recourse to supporting contemporary narrative evidence. Sutch's paper is a case in point. Based on census returns alone, he reconstitutes circumstantial evidence for slave breeding and goes on to infer that sexual interference by masters occurred. One literary reference would have buttressed a thesis that may otherwise engender skepticism. In default of quantifiable data, several scholars have assumed continuity of a given trend, taking a mean where evidence is not available rather than seeking alternative nonmeasurable sources of evidence. Quantifiable data are accepted at face value. No less than death, the computer is a great equalizer. Semantic distinctions become lost. Forgotten is the fact that cultural, economic, social, and political components of the family and marriage or of institutions such as school and church vary from one society to the next or even between different groups within one society. Acceptance of such designations at face value as applying equally to different peoples is to lose the nuances of history. No less regrettable is a proclivity—LeVeen and Anstey being distinguished exceptions—to abstract the slave trade from the overall economy and the slave from the greater society. The value of figures on profitability, mortality, natality, and migration is undeniable, but these are fragments in the recon-

struction of the historical mosaic. Nonquantifiable data receive short shrift. Climatic, geographical, and political considerations may prove vital in determining the nature of measurable evidence but receive mere lip service or are ignored. Explanation of variables is sought within the mathematical framework from which they originated, rather than in the conceptual or behavioral aspects of human existence—for example, perception—whose understanding is vital to an appreciation of tensions and antagonisms inherent to slavocratic societies. Generalizations from case studies based on one type of evidence for one area occur. Cuba cannot be regarded as the prototype for Caribbean economic and social development; nor can conclusions derived from the Cuban experience be applied unreservedly to Latin America, without allowing for differences within Spanish America and between Spanish and Portuguese America. Michael Craton does well to emphasize the uniqueness of Jamaica. That free blacks existed in antebellum Philadelphia and colonial Mexico City and Lima is too fragile a foundation on which to generalize on the economic and social status of blacks in urban areas. Nor should a few decades be allowed to take on centennial significance—for example, 1821–65 becomes “the nineteenth century.” It would be unfortunate if such tendencies were to detract from the benefits to be derived from applying the instruments of the precise science of mathematics to historical evidence.

Questions and doubts remain. Was the form taken by the slave trade in the Atlantic unique, and was the nature of slavery in the Americas unique? If we were to take the component parts—supply and demand, systems, values—would we not find them equally present in the trans-Saharan and Indian Ocean slave trades? Would not this aspect of comparative history be more rewarding than scholarly obsession with variations in one slave system? Furthermore, how viable is historical reconstruction based on predominantly numerical data, and can it capture the moral, intellectual, cultural, and behavioral content of past societies? May not such data distract from the human dimension of the slave trade and slavery?

The publicity accorded to, and resilience of, the “new history” have made the approaches adopted in these essays familiar. Scholars have accepted that such methods are valuable not only by contributing to the solution of certain historical problems, but by asking questions that open up new avenues of inquiry. By their high standards of scholarship, these essays breed confidence in the methodology and suscite interest by their challenging conclusions. This volume represents scholarly concern at a turning point in historical meth-

odology and historiography. It also exemplifies the adage that history, no less than time and tide, waits for no man.

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JOHN FRANCIS GUILMARTIN, JR. *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975. Pp. xiv, 321. \$25.00.

Innovation in the art of sailing and cannon casting occupies a central position in the early modern history of how Europe came to dominate the seas. But the associated celebration of the Atlantic sailing ship's superiority creates an anomaly for the Mediterranean historian. It was strange that the Ottoman and Habsburg empires retained the obsolete naval vessel, the war galley, until well into the seventeenth century. This divergence from the pattern of technological change established by the Atlantic states has either been charged off to tradition or ignored by historians until John Francis Guilmartin, Jr. attacked this knotty problem.

The general subject of his history is the sixteenth-century system of naval warfare in the Mediterranean. To get at the heart of such a complicated subject, Guilmartin organizes his study around the main naval weapon of the time, the war galley. Chapters covering the structural evolution of warfare with the galley and the grand naval conflicts of the sixteenth century are placed contrapuntally throughout the text to give meaning to new economic and technological research.

A remarkable number of myths are demolished by this study. The inapplicability of Alfred Thayer Mahan's concepts of naval warfare to sixteenth-century Mediterranean history is the first to be exposed. The idea that the European sailing ship simply overwhelmed the war galley is also refuted. Instead, the causes of the decline in the Mediterranean form of naval conflict are more complex: the evolution of galley warfare brought the size of fleets to the point where their strategic mobility declined, the astronomical increase in the operating costs of a war galley exceeded the financial capacities of Mediterranean empires, and the appearance of cheap iron cannon decreased the combat effectiveness of the galley.

While it is true that oared armadas had become a terrible financial burden by the end of the sixteenth century, the different history of the Ottoman and Habsburg expansion also brought about the decline of the Mediterranean system of naval warfare. The pull of Spain's western frontier carried her fleets into the stormy Atlantic where the

galley could not be employed, and the continental tug of the Persian border led the Ottomans into conflicts where the foot soldier reigned supreme.

Guilmartin has produced a remarkable book. He has accomplished this not so much because he has made a fundamental contribution to the field of Mediterranean naval technology, but because he has overcome some of the most cherished traditions of early modern history.

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NIELS STEENSGAARD. *Carracks, Caravans and Companies: The Structural Crisis in the European-Asian Trade in the Early 17th Century*. (Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series, number 17.) [Lund:] Studentlitteratur, 1973. Pp. 448. \$15.50.

Northcote Parkinson once wondered engagingly why Indians never sailed around Africa to discover Europe. Though the question belongs to another era (as does his answer: courage), questions about differences between East and West can often be boiled down to formulas not much more abstruse. Why, for example, Niels Steensgaard wanted to know, could the Portuguese not hang on in the East after the British and Dutch Trading Companies were established? In this carefully constructed and innovative monograph, he provides some original and insightful answers. One may have assumed all along that the answer was institutional; Steensgaard demonstrates it.

Steensgaard calls the disjuncture of institutions he describes a "structural crisis" and has organized his study of it around a central symbolic event: the fall of Hormuz in 1622. The first section of the book analyzes institutions in the East-West trade after 1500. First, there is the traditional peddling trade of Asia in which markets were opaque and costs involved the price of goods, transport—and protection. In this way, Steensgaard is led into a particularly significant discussion of the way in which the Portuguese Estado da India, the Ottoman Empire, and Safavid Persia produced and paid for protection. These are not political systems for his purposes, but "redistributive enterprises," and the Estado da India thus falls logically not into the Western camp but into the Eastern. Meanwhile, the Portuguese made a little money on the side selling pepper.

The companies introduced two major innovations. They smoothed the distribution and thus stabilized the price of spices, that is, they increased the transparency of the market. Worse still, they protected themselves; in other words, they internalized the cost of protection. "If the



Portuguese king became the world's biggest tax-gatherer," writes Steensgaard, "the Companies became the worlds biggest smugglers." And what about the fall of Hormuz? Without taxes it could not stand. The use of the African trade route was no innovation, but the way they used it was. And the consequences ramified through all the existing redistributive enterprises. Corruption intensified across the Ottoman Empire and revolt flickered after, the *Estado da India* collapsed, leaving a ragtag of isolated customs stations to piece out what living they could, and Persia turned in on itself.

The second section of the book retells the story of the fall of Hormuz in standard historical narrative. The results are the most penetrating account yet of that strange set of diplomatic encounters and missions that surely meant something, but which came, it always seemed, to nothing. Those marvelous, self-inflating Sherley brothers and the swirl of diplomatic activity that followed them seemed always to lead to an inexplicable quietude at the death of Shah Abbas. Steensgaard's juxtaposition of two modes of historical exposition shows why this was not "history created by men." Instead, the actors "were prisoners of a structural crisis the outcome of which they could not control." Ambassadors spoke past one another and seemingly achievable projects came to nothing. Though most of the Persian documents Steensgaard examined in archival translation have now been published in Iran, Persian scholarship on the period must still be characterized as "uncritical." Indeed, it tends to rely on the same Western travel narratives that his research has explicated.

In the final section of the book, Steensgaard assesses the Asian trade and the new institutional structures after the fall of Hormuz. The dream of alliance or silk monopoly withered in East and West. Such arrangements could succeed only where political constraints matched an economic pattern that neither the companies nor the states involved could supply. In addition, neither company nor state ever completely smothered the peddling trade, which, with its infinite flexibility, quickly fleshed out the interstices of the companies' own activities. The decks of the companies' ships were soon aswarm with peddlers whose overhead was lower and for whom the company supplied protection at the price of a ticket.

It is difficult to know whether to classify this book with that growing fund of works on the economy and society of early modern Europe or with the more exotic genre of works on the diplomacy of Persia in the seventeenth century. It handles both with finesse, and in so doing establishes a historical generalization that brings the two together

within a single, intelligible framework. This significant work deserves praise for both clarity of thought and clarity of exposition. Indeed, except for an occasional redundant North European "already," the prose holds rare vibrance and a subtle flash of humor uncommon in themselves. In all, *Carracks, Caravans and Companies* is an exciting work that ought to influence our thinking considerably on many of the problems of early modern history.

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MAX SAVELLE. *Empires to Nations: Expansion in America, 1713-1824*. (Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion, volume 5.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1974. Pp. xxi. 335. \$11.50.

This is the fifth in the ten-volume series *Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion* under the general editorship of Boyd C. Shafer. In this volume Savelle effectively presents the unitary thesis of the history of America. Categories such as North and South America, the Caribbean, and national history are secondary to the commonly shared experience from the Treaty of Utrecht to the virtual withdrawal of European power from the American scene by 1825—the exceptions being Canada, British Guiana, and Honduras. Transcending continents and empires, the author integrates economic, intellectual, and social history based on his lifetime of teaching and research. Settlement, capitalist mercantilism, enlightenment, metropole-periphery interaction, colonial nationalism, and ultimate independence are traced at comparative stages in British, Spanish, French, Portuguese, and Dutch America.

The major recurring theme is economics. Imperial, international, regional, and local production and trade patterns are set against mercantile theory and the changing realities of the eighteenth century. Efforts by the mother countries to enforce, reform, or introduce efficiency into mercantilism are indicated in attempts to legitimize the established contraband smuggling trade by introducing controlled free trade.

In all the frontier survival struggles there emerged a transformed colonial citizenry whose world view and loyalties gradually shifted from the mother country to the developing state. Colonial centers such as Rio de Janeiro and Philadelphia were fertile for scientific and literary enlightenment activity. Savelle demonstrates the intellectual and political linkages between Anglo-America, the French Revolution, and the accelerated political devolution in South America after 1811. In short, the eighteenth century was the century of the birth of nations; over twenty fragments emerged from older Euro-American possessions.



In his section on the creation of such new social elements as the zambos and métis, Savelle, besides discussing their creation, also hints at the valuable work that might emerge from a comparative study of settler, slave, and autochthonous population interaction.

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ERIC VOEGELIN. *From Enlightenment to Revolution*. Edited by JOHN H. HALLOWELL. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 1975. Pp. ix, 307. \$12.75.

The first observation to be made concerning this book is that the author, Eric Voegelin, is a philosopher not a historian. A second observation follows, namely, that to a historian the work is marred by anachronisms and unacceptable chronological and conceptual leaps. The editor, John H. Hallowell, has herein collected a number of Voegelin's essays written in the 1940s and 1950s. They range in concern from secularized history in "The Emergence of Secularized History: Bossuet and Voltaire," through examinations of the aspects of Helvetius's thought, and a study in positivism, "Positivism and Its Antecedents" (with an extended treatment of Comte), before concluding with two analyses, one of Bakunin and another of Marx, "Marx: Inverted Dialectics." The unifying theme of the book is Voegelin's vision of the "deeply rooted spiritual crisis of our times." In his analysis of such "representative thinkers of the modern age" as Voltaire, Helvetius, d'Alembert, Turgot, Comte, Saint-Simon, Bakunin, and Marx, Voegelin attempts a diagnosis of the "spiritual disease" that has afflicted modern man since the age of the Enlightenment. One of Voegelin's points is that Enlightenment historiography (Voltaire) disintegrated Christian transcendental universalism (Augustine-Bossuet) with the result that historians adopted the "ideal of empirical completeness." Voegelin argues that "since human history [so perceived] has no recognizable structure of meaning" historians henceforth must select a partial structure of meaning and declare it to be the total. Voltaire's structural categories of the "extinction, renaissance and progress of the human spirit," Voegelin argues, foreshadow the structures of Saint-Simon and Comte—the "law of three stages." Voegelin concludes that "since the content which enters the categories is an independent variable, it foreshadows, furthermore, the possibility that new materials may enter the categorial pattern, as has actually happened in the Marxist and National-Socialist constructions" (p. 11).

What Voegelin seeks to establish throughout this book is an ideological lineage, for example,

from Voltaire to Comte, Marx, and Hitler. In another place we read that Comte "belongs" with Marx, Lenin, and Hitler (p. 159). What is missing in this attempt is any effort by Voegelin to do justice, for example, to Voltaire's or Condorcet's intentions or to root such men as Helvetius, Comte, and Marx in their complex historical reality. Instead, at least to me, we have a facile, and at times very angrily expressed, theory of logical links culminating in the destructive intentions of Hitler and Stalin. Voegelin's anachronisms further muddy those conceptual waters: we read that "there is evil in Turgot as in every totalitarian" (p. 99) and are asked to consider "totalitarians, like Condorcet" (p. 128). In a short review many questions may not be asked, but one presses forward. For Voegelin, the seed ground of modern totalitarian nihilism is the work of the Enlightenment, of Voltaire, d'Alembert, Turgot, Condorcet, Saint-Simon, and Comte. How else but historically, however, can we account for the appearance of totalitarianism in precisely those areas least affected by Enlightenment thought?

Voegelin's theories of history and politics emphasize the need for "transcendence," by which he means something very close to Judaic-Christian revelation. However, while recognizing, in Ernst Nolte's words, that "thought alone can form the concept of the whole as distinct from all that exists and all that is individual," historians will surely more profitably utilize Nolte's neutral concept of transcendence whose central idea involves "looking back on what has been and forward to what is coming, [reaching] out toward the whole" (see *Three Faces of Fascism* [1965], p. 431). As Voegelin's editor puts it, "Dream life usurping the place of wake life is the theme of this volume when reason torn loose from its moorings in the ground of being seeks to create man-made constructions of reality in place of the mysterious reality of God's creation" (p. ix). Such a perspective may be congenial to philosophers of Platonic lineage but to the followers of Herodotus it is neither congenial nor useful.

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LUCIO COLLETTI. *Marxism and Hegel*. Translated from the Italian by LAWRENCE GARNER. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1973. Pp. 287. \$15.75.

Within Marxology, at least, a Hegel renaissance has occurred, and Lucio Colletti's *Marxism and Hegel* is an expression of that renewal. The rebirth found its twentieth-century origin in Georg Lukacs's *History and Class Consciousness*. Whereas Lukacs began the contemporary attempt to re-Hegel-

lianize Marx, Colletti is seeking to Kantianize Marx. Colletti is critical of both the dialectical materialism of Soviet Marxism, as represented by Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and the logico-conceptual dialectic of Western Marxism as represented by Kojève, Lukacs, and Herbert Marcuse. Bolshevik Marxism, according to Colletti, finding its inception in Engels, derives from the Hegelianism that idealized nature and found matter in itself dialectical; this tradition hypostasized the natural world thus leading to a metaphysics of nature. Colletti also faults Western Marxism for interpreting the dialectic as a logico-conceptual movement, thus hypostasizing the rational to the exclusion of the world outside of ideas. Marxism must be Kantianized: the Marxist dialectic, assuming the importance of the logico-conceptual process, needs to limit and verify this epistemological movement through the critical and negative inclusion of material reality. Regardless of its insightfulness, Colletti's book contains gross misinterpretations of Hegel, Lukacs, and Marcuse. Colletti affirms that for Hegel man was a rational creature, and he overlooks Hegel's *System der Sittlichkeit* and the *Jenaer Realphilosophie* in which Hegel wrote extensively on the naturalistic and anthropologic aspects of human and social existence. In addition, Colletti maintains that Hegel believed that nature itself was dialectical, but omits any mention of the *Philosophy of Nature* and the *Philosophy of Mind* in which Hegel specifically indicates that nature itself is nondialectical and that only mind or spirit could be pneumatic forces. The Hegel who emerges from Colletti is drawn to a religio-spiritualist conservative tradition, contrary to most contemporary, philosophic (non-Marxist) treatments, such as Soll, Kaufmann, or Findlay. Marcuse is accused of a "spiritualistic disdain for the finite and the terrestrial world," proving that Colletti neglects Marcuse's own sensitivity to the physicosocial, and overlooks his *Reason and Revolution* in which Marcuse depicted the socio-anthropologic basis of Hegel's political thought. Lukacs is indicted for a *Widerspiegelungstheorie* of truth, thus associating Lukacs with Engels, an assertion that is an injustice to Lukacs and a falsification of his intellectual effort to free Marxism from the sterility of positivist epistemology.

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GÜNTER MOLTSMANN. *Atlantische Blockpolitik im 19. Jahrhundert: Die Vereinigten Staaten und der deutsche Liberalismus während der Revolution von 1848/49*. Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1973. Pp. 424. DM 58.

In this study Professor Günter Moltmann, an American specialist at the University of Hamburg,

describes in great detail the relationship that developed between the United States and the liberal provisional government of Frankfurt in 1848–52. The central thesis contends that a temporary ideological "bloc" was formed between the two governments, which foreshadowed twentieth-century similarities. Moltmann explains that the United States was unexpectedly willing to cooperate with the Frankfurt liberals because "no political interest conflicts nor power rivalry existed between them" (p. 356). In fact, he sees "rivalries with neighbors and the concept of the balance of power in any event foreign to American political thought" (pp. 356–57). Although based upon examination of the Bundesarchiv, Aussenstelle Frankfurt am Main, the U.S. National Archives, personal collections in the Library of Congress, and miscellaneous material in several other archives, as well as some other official and unofficial contemporary sources, this monograph presents arguments and analyses that are unconvincing.

It is not clear how this era in U.S.-German relations relates to mid-nineteenth-century U.S. external relations. Recent broader studies by Norman Graebner, Richard von Alstyne, William Goetzmann, and William A. Williams, among others who offer various pictures of a dynamic, expansive foreign policy in the mid-nineteenth century, were not used by Moltmann. Major works on mid-nineteenth-century German history, for example, those by Helmut Böhme, Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Otto Pflanze, and Reinhart Koselleck, were not consulted. The oversight of recent U.S. studies is particularly regretted since "thematically the accent lies on American policy, the sources and literature of the United States received stronger attention" (p. 8).

The barrier that German-language studies raise for historians of the United States, and the study's narrow limits and perspectives, will restrict the readership to a small band of scholars. However, Moltmann's exhaustive examination of the manuscript correspondence of Frankfurt's agent in the United States, Friedrich Ludwig von Rönne, and U.S. agents in Germany, Ambrose Dudley Mann, Andrew J. Donelson, William H. Stiles, and Charles Graebe, will lend this monograph value for a long time.

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ISTVÁN SÁNDOR. *Xántus János*. Budapest: Magvető könyvkiadó. 1970. Pp. 408. Ft. 17.00.

In 1949 I published the first extensive biography of János Xántus; it concentrated on his years in America from 1852 to 1864, when he was probably the most noteworthy collector of *naturalia* in Cali-

fornia and Lower California—if not in North America. This was followed by István Sándor's biographical sketch in *Acta Ethnographica* (3 [1953]: 233–88, in Russian with an English summary), largely based on my work and the same author's present book. In this work, Sándor presents a substantial semipopular biography, giving equal space to Xántus's life before he left America and to his travels in Asia and his museological work in Budapest until his death in 1894. This latter half of Xántus's life is here presented for the first time in book form. A list of Xántus's 243 writings and a number of bibliographical notes complete the volume, which is handsomely printed and bound.

It is curious to note that Sándor's short biography of 1953 gives some attention to a supposed interest of Xántus in the "international workers' movement," whereas his biography of 1970 does not mention this fantasy. Similarly, the first biography accuses me of "spitefulness" in my criticism of Xántus; by 1970 this accusation had vanished. Aside from revealing welcome ideological change in Hungary, Sándor's later work is a useful, if somewhat turgid, survey of the life of a man who deserves far more attention in the history of science in the United States than the mere bestowal of his name on a murrelet and a lizard.

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PAUL M. KENNEDY. *The Samoan Tangle: A Study in Anglo-German-American Relations, 1878–1900*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. xvi, 325. \$12.50.

This interesting if not elegantly written study of late nineteenth-century Anglo-German relations deserves a wide audience. Turbulent Samoa appears largely as the occasional scene or symptomatic touchstone of international relations. Paul M. Kennedy, lecturer in modern history at the University of East Anglia, focuses upon Bismarck, Salisbury, Bülow, and Chamberlain rather than on the Malietoa chiefs or on Samoa's colonial coming of age.

Kennedy is more conversant with current European than with American historiography. Historians of American foreign relations should value his book, however, because he employs the issue of Samoa to assess international changes. The United States consequently receives greater attention than its minor role in Samoan affairs merits. Kennedy finds little sign of American imperialism in the 1880s and little show of interest in Samoa after 1889, except during the collapse of the troubled tridominium in 1899. He overlooks the American image of Samoa and the reasons for the absence of sustained American interest. But he has

carefully researched the reactions in the United States to the partition of the islands, and he depicts the general drift of American opinion toward Great Britain and against Germany. His observation that the United States and Germany eventually might have clashed over Latin America—if the focus of affairs had not shifted to Europe—provocatively extends the recent scholarly suggestions that a real German menace existed.

Throughout the book, Kennedy tests the thesis of "manipulated social imperialism," the useful European phrase meaning expansion to relieve domestic pressures. He discerns only hints of social imperialism in the United States even after 1897. He further contends that such motives did not influence Bismarck, who was often annoyed by Samoan complications and intent largely on safeguarding commerce. After 1897 the Kaiser's *personliches Regiment* sought glory abroad and unity at home. Bülow's *innenpolitik*—his sensitivity to Wilhelm's desires for a great navy and to the symbolic importance of Upolu for the agrarian and pan-German presses and publics—further dictated the search for expansion.

Kennedy portrays Salisbury as gradually drifting toward a rift with Germany. Chamberlain, who negotiated the settlement of 1899, conceded Samoa because the navy did not consider it valuable; seemingly more cooperative with Germany, he really differed little from Salisbury on Samoa. The peaceful partition was promising only in the short run; the future was ominous because Germany now seemed at least a threat if not hostile. Kennedy concludes that Samoa, whose importance was illusory, mirrored and contributed to the growing rivalry between the two powers.

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CHARLES MILLER. *Battle for the Bundu: The First World War in East Africa*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company. 1974. Pp. x, 353. \$9.95.

When a writer announces in his opening—as Charles Miller does—that he intends to leave the factual intricacies of the subject to be resolved by scholars, it is usually a clue that the historical facts are going to be put to rout. Yet Miller controls his affection for the literary crescendo and the stagecraft of military historical writing and presents a smoothly balanced, detailing narrative—almost contrapuntal in its style—of World War I in East Africa. Recapitulated in this volume are the *Sturm und Drang* of Germany's effort to retain Tanganyika, her colony of only thirty years at the outbreak of the war. Contained here also is the unedifying portrayal of the British and Allied forces—cumbersome, swaggering from past suc-

cess, bound to archaic modes of strategy, often treating war as a baronial sport—a portrayal that is at once filled with pathos, and comic. Who claims we have to wait a second time around for history to repeat itself as farce? All the familiar episodes that have been told in simpler form in Brian Gardner's *German East* (1963) and Leonard Mosley's *Duel for Kilimanjaro* (1963) are reconstructed here with considerably more precision: the rise of the agile microarmies of the *Schutztruppe* under Lettow-Vorbeck; the naval duel in 1915 with the *Königsberg*, ensnared in the Rufiji delta quagmire; the northern Tanganyika campaigns of 1916; the phenomenal growth of the East Africa Carrier Corps. Apart from this, Miller makes a few incremental interpretive gains for the professional historian. He stresses the fact—one frequently handled indifferently—that the brigades of the *Schutztruppe* were first schooled in "bush" military technique through their pacification and post-pacification wars against indigenous adversaries, namely against the skilled Hehe warriors in the 1890s and during the Maji-Maji rebellion in 1905–07. The hostility of Kenyan settlers to the intrusion of the war into their idyllic domain appears in several intriguing passages. The author reduces that exaggerated hero of the war, Jan Smuts, by questioning his combat leadership; and thus, Miller carries further the reinterpretation initiated by W. K. Hancock. It is regrettable, however, that Miller allows the fanatical, mordant evaluations of Colonel R. Meinertzhagen from his *Army Diary: 1899–1926* (1960) to dominate the chronicle of the war, as so many previous writers have. And it is inexcusable that Miller seems blithely ignorant of the historiography of Kenya and Tanzania after 1960. More than occasionally, too, one wonders whether this war occurred in East Africa among specific peoples, with particular cultural histories, impinging on the war and impinged upon by it, or whether it was acted out on an extraterrestrial landscape—for here, the local societies are often absent or act only as a shadowy background.

KENNEL A. JACKSON, JR.  
Stanford University

RICHARD and ANNA MARIA DRINNON, editors. *No-where at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman*. New York: Schocken Books. 1975. Pp. xxviii, 282. \$12.95.

Best treated as a supplement to Richard Drinnon's definitive biography of Emma Goldman, *Rebel in Paradise* (1961), this well-chosen selection of letters from the Berkman and Goldman Archives of the International Institute for Social History in Amsterdam provides a fuller understanding of the exile years of these two redoubtable anarchists. Deported from America in 1919 after two years in

federal prisons for organizing the American anti-draft movement (the No Conscription League) of the First World War and for propagandizing in support of the Russian Revolution, Berkman and Goldman welcomed the opportunity to contribute to the developing revolution in their native land. Within two years they were also exiled from Soviet Russia, and "nowhere at home."

Though plagued with the physical disorders of aging and the difficulties involved in supporting themselves rather than relying on old comrades, they suffered from the exile more in spirit than in body—not just in seeing the "progressive forces" succumb to the Bolshevik "myth," but in being unable to do anything effective to counter the intoxication of the radical elements with this model revolution. Lifelong opponents of statism, they believed the Bolsheviks had co-opted and betrayed the revolution by consolidating political power in their own hands, subordinating the trade unions and soviets, and severely repressing competing revolutionary movements. Unwilling to allow the fashionable triumphant faction to pose as the only viable revolutionary alternative to capitalism or fascism, they would have been overcome by frustration and despair were it not for their own unique relationship and the other close friendships they maintained.

This selection of letters presupposes familiarity with the lives of two of the greatest rebels of our time. One misses the warmth of Drinnon's biography here and wishes more narrative commentary had been provided to flesh out the material and place the letters in appropriate context.

WILLIAM G. NOWLIN, JR.  
University of Lowell

JOSEPH S. DAVIS. *The World between the Wars, 1919–39: An Economist's View*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. viii, 436. \$16.00.

It must first be understood that "the world" in this book is primarily the United States and secondarily Western Europe, including Germany, with occasional references to other areas. Further, the focus is on economic developments in the interwar period, with particular reference to two basic questions: why the Great Depression, and why World War II? The author is a noted economist who held professorships at Harvard and Stanford, as well as federal appointments, during the period about which he writes. This book grows out of his deep concern that, because much about the Great Depression and its impact on the world remains unsatisfactorily explained, there is reason to doubt that we can do much better today unless we understand these matters and learn to deal with them.

In offering his contribution to this understand-



ing, Davis traces in a dozen chapters the legacy of the Great War, the boom period of the twenties, the crash of 1929, the collapse into severe depression, and the gradual recovery of the thirties—the last of which, in Davis's view, owed less to governmental policies than to natural recuperation, mostly on private initiative, with rearmament one of the major contributing factors. The emphasis is on description; the author sometimes lists, without assigning priority, series of reasons for what occurred, and occasionally offers his own reaction to interpretations of particular points that have been advanced by others. In the latter context, his general disagreement with J. M. Keynes is apparent. The book concludes with four chapters of "analysis and interpretation," in which the author summarizes economic weaknesses that were widely underrated or ignored. These include a declining population growth, falling consumer demand, excessive commodity stocks, overexpansion of productive capacity, overextension of indebtedness, price stabilization, bank credit inflation, and fallacies in banking structure. He also cites agricultural overproduction; protectionism; exaggerated hopes for war debts and reparations; the contribution of misjudgments and malfeasance to the economic collapse—the former considered the more important of the two—and the gross inadequacy of economic and political intelligence, both in heading off depression and in showing the way to recovery. There is much in the book that is familiar, and well-informed readers will sometimes tire of the elaboration of generally accepted points and the repetition of major themes. But overall it is an intelligent, balanced book that reveals an impressive familiarity with the literature—up to one-third of the space on many pages is devoted to source citations and explanatory or critical notations on the work of others.

Without taking it as a full explanation, Davis places heavy emphasis on the psychological factor in the cycle of prosperity and depression. He believes that much of the difficulty in the interwar period stemmed from a systematic ignoring of reality, an impulsive overoptimism about a wholly new society in which prosperity and peace would be everlasting, and a marked reluctance to confront problems directly—indeed an inability to agree on how to confront them—even after they had overwhelmed. He identifies three fundamentals that lay behind the crises and tragedies of 1919–39: the complexity of the real world; the heterogeneity of its inhabitants; and the imperfect understanding of persons, peoples, institutions, situations, and trends. The self-evident nature of these factors seems to suggest that the difficulties were essentially inherent in the human condition—on the surface, not a particularly incisive conclusion. But Davis intends it as a warning that failure to grasp

the obvious sometimes causes the greatest difficulty in human affairs. Concluding from his lifetime study that the monumental failures of the period were inevitable, though "inherently preventable," and that, since things have not significantly changed today, "the danger of inherently preventable disasters still looms large" (p. 423), he argues a need to watch constantly for the symptoms of impending trouble. Nor can social scientists afford to be smug about their progress. The interwar experience illustrates that "a whole generation of able scholars can be seriously wrong in interpreting the present and sizing up the future" (p. 414), and "the problems that did the most damage in 1931 are still those that free societies have done least to solve" (p. 417).

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RICHARD DEAN BURNS and EDWARD BENNETT, editors. *Diplomats in Crisis: United States-Chinese-Japanese Relations, 1919–1941*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO. 1974. Pp. xxi, 346.

The editors of this book have performed a valuable service to the student of Asian-American diplomatic history. They have assembled thirteen generally well informed essays on key American, Chinese, and Japanese diplomats of the crisis decades that led to Pearl Harbor. In the case of the studies on the Chinese and Japanese figures, the editors have chosen scholars who have been able to use Chinese and Japanese sources. The result is that taken together these biographical sketches add up to an interesting and balanced multinational perspective on the background to the Pacific War. While there is information here of interest to specialists, the book will be perhaps most useful as a reading assignment in undergraduate courses on diplomatic history. The sections on Japan and the United States offer ample evidence of just how problematic the relations of the two countries were. It was not just that Americans and Japanese were far apart from each other but that there were wide ranges of opinion within the American group and a similar diversity among the Japanese statesmen. Stanley K. Hornbeck argued that economic sanctions would not create the danger of war but would compel Japan to retreat, while Ambassador Joseph C. Grew constantly made the case for caution and restraint. Similarly, the conciliatory pro-American ambassador, Nomura Kichisaburō, was constantly at loggerheads with the pro-Nazi foreign minister, Matsuoka Yōsuke.

The American diplomats discussed in this book are Nelson T. Johnson by Herbert J. Wood, John Van Antwerp MacMurray by Thomas Buckley, W. Cameron Forbes by Gary Ross, Grew by Edward M. Bennett, and Hornbeck by Richard Dean

Burns. The Japanese diplomats are Shidehara Kijūrō by Sidney DeVere Brown, Hirota Kōki by Lee Farnsworth, Shigemitsu Mamoru by Alvin D. Coox, Matsuoka by Barbara Teters, and Nomura by Hilary Conroy. Three Chinese diplomats are examined, V. K. Wellington Koo by Paochin Chu, Hu Shih by Paul Hyer, and Chou Fo-hai by Hansheng Lin.

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BERND MARTIN. *Friedensinitiativen und Machtpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1939-1942*. (Geschichtliche Studien zu Politik und Gesellschaft, number 6.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1974. Pp. 572. DM 82.

Bernd Martin's penetrating study of peace initiatives and power politics between 1939 and 1942 must be considered a major contribution to the historical literature on the Second World War. The book, as a monograph in peace research, is a fine companion volume to the studies of Hillgruber, Skalweit, and others, on high-level German wartime diplomacy and strategy. Against the broad background of political, economic, ideological, and racial policies, Martin traces and analyzes the many futile endeavors to end the armed conflict that began with the invasion of Poland. The author has thoroughly exploited a wide variety of sources and has made particularly good use of German and British archival materials. As for documentation on U.S., Russian, French, Vatican, and other peace initiatives, he had to rely primarily on official publications of selected documents. He has of course made use of private papers, interviews with individuals directly involved in some of the peace efforts, and the large body of printed literature. Aware of the problems imposed by limited access to primary sources, Martin has been judicious in his assumptions and conclusions. That is not to say that his study lacks either critical insight or constructive imagination in its approach to the subject. The first half of the book is devoted to mediation efforts and peace initiatives preceding the dramatic events of the summer of 1940. Of particular interest is Martin's study of Italian mediation efforts, in September 1939 and later, compounded as they were of a concern for the impact of German-Soviet collaboration and a desire for a major role in European power politics. The author also gives excellent coverage of the many other efforts launched either by the belligerents or by neutral states. The second half of the book covers the suspense-filled months from June 1940 to the late spring of 1942, when the conflict gradually assumed global proportions and generated new and complex strategies and aspira-

tions. From Churchill's critical influence and Roosevelt's ambivalent attitude in the summer of 1940 to Hitler's *Friedensvorstellungen*, sparked by the initial victories over the Soviet army, Martin offers a fascinating and provocative account of efforts, motivated by a variety of impulses, to seek an end to a conflict growing increasingly destructive and savage. Martin deserves high praise for his model contribution to peace research.

WILLARD ALLEN FLETCHER  
University of Delaware

ALBERTO BORGOTTI and CESARE GORI. *La guerra aerea in Africa settentrionale: Assalto dal cielo 1940-41; 1942-43*. In two volumes. Modena: S.T.E.M.-Mucchi s.p.a. 1972; 1973. Pp. 205; 273. L. 3,500; L. 4,000.

Attention is called to a useful brace of soft-cover volumes that in highly technical detail, with black-and-white photographs, maps, and color airplane diagrams, describe the transactions of the Italian Royal Air Force in North Africa during the Second World War. At the outset the "Blue Arm" flew alone against the British; then it gained help from Hitler only to go down fighting both the Americans and the English. The first book supplies background aviation data and a narrative of the start of the conflict, the initial enemy offensive Compass, the seesaw war, and the arrival of the Afrika Korps. Clearly defined are the brutality of the terrain, the lack of water, and the poverty of fuel and parts.

The second tome is written along the same lines and carries the account to the fall of Tunisia in 1943. After working from German, English, and local references the authors—a lawyer-and-historian family team in Pesaro—agree that the German general staff was bewitched by Russia and realized too late the importance of Mediterranean control, that United States industrial production on application in the field was overwhelming, and "in a war among such giants, Italy, always wrestling with its habitual poverty, sent men off to a theater it ought to have understood thoroughly—instead it was caught off balance from the beginning." The cooperation between the Royal Army and the air branch "was not very effective for technical and organizational reasons." For example, in 1941 at Sollum in Battleaxe it was quite deplorable.

Equipment lagged far behind both the Germans and the opposition. Here Erwin Rommel confirms that "the Italian pilots worked miracles. Their reconnaissance planes were old unarmed slow Caproni craft, deadly for anybody flying them." Giulio Lazzati in his memoir of wartime pilots, *I soliti quattro gatti* (1965), not cited by the writers,



gives the ending, "The battle in Tunisia was a battle of desperation, the bitter chalice which had to be drunk to the bottom." Such sentimentalities are alien to the text by Borgiotti and Gori. Hard military facts are not.

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PHILIP C. JESSUP. *The Birth of Nations*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 361. \$14.95.

Philip Jessup had a distinguished career as a teacher of international law, as a diplomat, and as a judge of the International Court of Justice. Now he is remembering in retirement some of the great events of which he was a part. An earlier volume dealt with five cases that came before the International Court and with how international law has developed. The present one describes the coming into being of a number of new states and the part played in their birth by the United States and the United Nations. With the exception of Manchukuo, the states included are ones with whose genesis Jessup was directly concerned when attached to the United States mission to the UN from 1947 to 1949 or as United States ambassador-at-large from 1949 to 1953.

In the birth of the Republic of Korea, Jessup's part was so important that a grateful Korean foreign minister hailed him as the midwife of the infant state. This apparently suggested the obstetrical metaphor that appears in the chapter headings and in the text. Morocco and Tunisia suffer prenatal pains, Libya and Somalia are examples of delivery by the UN, Eritrea was stillborn, and Manchukuo was a case of illegitimacy. Indonesia and Israel, however, were just born ("Indonesia Is Born," "The Birth of Israel"). The ensuing discussion makes it clear that they were not cases of delivery through twilight sleep.

In the light of later lamentable events, special interest attaches to the chapter, "The Abortive Empire of Bao Dai," which provides insights into informed—and not so informed—American views on Indochina in 1949 and reveals early foreshadowings of the policy of Vietnamization. To this chapter there is added a short postscript on the still-unborn Pushtoonistan with whose tribesmen-advocates the Jessups had a friendly encounter when traveling in Afghanistan.

The use of something like a memoir form ("this highly personal account")—albeit one in which memory has been reinforced by research in the archives of the State Department and other sources—allows the author to stray a bit into attractive bypaths. There are delightful pages on early relations—or lack thereof—between Wash-

ington and the League of Nations as well as occasional anecdotes about the ways of the State Department in the early twenties. Numerous personalities are depicted, without acerbity and also without undue deference.

In his pedagogical days, Philip Jessup was noted for ability to expound the principles of international law with equal success to bold-tongued law students and to mild-spoken historians and political scientists. Here he shows ability to breathe life into interdepartmental memorandums and make UN debates almost interesting. Thus these retrospective rambles through the early years after the Second World War make what the English call "a good read." They are also informative about how policy is made. What an interesting book their author could write if he would take a similar ramble through academic groves.

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## ANCIENT

JOHN PATRICK LYNCH. *Aristotle's School: A Study of a Greek Educational Institution*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. xiv, 247. \$10.00.

To a student of the history of ancient philosophy a "school" normally is no more than a convenient classifier of ideologies or a vehicle of doctrines. It is the great merit of John Patrick Lynch to have shown in this book Aristotle's Peripatetic School as the actual institution of learning it has been. Beginning with its physical setting, he treats, first, of the location of the Lyceum and adduces, apart from literary sources, ample archeological and epigraphical evidence—thereby illustrating how useful this kind of material can be even for the historian of philosophy who, as a rule, tends to neglect it—for his convincing conclusion that it must have been just outside the city wall of Athens (the Valerian extension of the city toward the east has brought it within the walls), south of modern Syntagma Square extending to the Olympieion; on its site are now the Russian Orthodox Church of Lykodemos (this name possibly being a survival of the ancient name "Lyceum") and the national gardens.

Chapters on the origin of higher education at Athens and the founding of the Peripatetic School lead to a discussion of the legal status of Aristotle's (not Theophrastus', as Ingemar Düring and others have contended) foundation. Lynch shows conclusively that Ulrich von Wilamowitz was wrong in assuming that the Athenian schools must have been *thiasoi*—religious fraternities dedicated to the worship of the Muses. The Lyceum, on the con-

trary, has always had a purely secular character, has never had any well-defined legal status, and consisted of private individuals, who undertook to give and follow lectures in public gymnasiums, where the *gymnasiarch* was the state official responsible for supervising these private activities.

In the following chapter the decline of the school after Aristotle and Theophrastus is explained in terms of the nonsectarian character of Peripatetic education. Lynch argues that Fritz Wehrli's explanation remains on the purely literary level by ascribing the school's decline to its failure to develop a Peripatetic orthodoxy. His own explanation starts from institutional considerations—first, the loss of the school library after Theophrastus' death; second, the instability and fragmentation of the school, which, in the case of the Lyceum, proved to be a serious weakness since Aristotle's conception of philosophy was oriented toward cooperative research rather than the discussions and dialectics that prevailed in other schools; and, third, its Macedonian connections. It seems quite justifiable to suppose that such observations may help to account for literary tendencies, rather than to seek the cause of the decline in these tendencies themselves, as Wehrli did.

After this chapter it does not surprise the reader to find that the author does not believe in a survival of the Lyceum—and, for that matter, the Academy as well—up to A.D. 529, when Justinian "closed the Schools of Athens," as it is so often repeated after Edward Gibbon. Undoubtedly Karl Zumpt's "Golden Chain" of *scholarchs* as it appears in Ueberweg-Praechter's handbook is too good to be true, and most likely a product of schematization in which every so-called Peripatetic is supposed to be a *scholarch*. One may be convinced with Lynch that Sulla's capture of Athens (86 B.C.) formed an upheaval which the schools as institutions may not have survived. But to believe that Rome and Alexandria were the real centers of Peripatetic activity from the first century B.C. until the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., when the Neoplatonic school at Athens concerned itself with the *Corpus Aristotelicum*, and that in Athens itself during the imperial centuries "Academic," "Peripatetic," "Stoic," and "Epicurean" were no longer the names for the various institutions but merely distinguished the divisions within the subject matter of philosophical studies, seems to be going very far indeed. For instance, can the Peripatetic renaissance with Andronicus of Rhodes' edition of Aristotle's works really be placed in Rome between 40 and 20 B.C., as Lynch does with Düring? This old and vexed question has recently been discussed anew by Paul Moraux in the first volume of his *Aristotelismus bei den Griechen* (1973). It is

clear from this thorough revision of the complicated evidence that a case at least equally strong, if not stronger, can be made for placing Andronicus and his edition in Athens during the first half of the first century B.C.

Such doubts, however, do not detract from the valuable achievement of Lynch's well-composed book: it has, for the first time, provided scholarship with a reliable account of Aristotelianism as an educational institution. It helps to efface in our minds all sorts of vague generalities and misconceptions about this Athenian "school," and, as it goes, other Greek schools of thought as well. The Lyceum can never be what it was to us before.

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MICHAEL H. CRAWFORD. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Volume 1, *Introduction and Catalogue*; volume 2, *Studies, Plates, and Indexes*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1975. Pp. xiv, 566; xi, 919. \$95.00 the set.

Historians of the Roman Republic who have tried to use numismatic evidence in their researches have long been aware of the shortcomings of the current catalog (E. A. Sydenham, *Coinage of the Roman Republic* [1952]), and they have awaited with anticipation these volumes, in preparation for at least eight years.

They will not be disappointed. The new catalog is far more complete and accurate in its description of the corpus of the coinage, and the chronology has been vastly improved. Crawford, moreover, has given judicious attention to matters of particular interest to historians including the office of moneyer and its relationship with quaestors, the state of the treasury at various times, the volume of coinage in absolute and relative terms, monetary terminology in the literary sources, identification of specific moneyers, and many other problems.

The volumes include, besides the catalog itself and chapters on special problems, a lengthy introduction, appendixes, plates with apparatus, an extensive bibliography, five indexes, and concordances with E. Babelon, *Monnaies de la république romaine* (1885-86), and Sydenham (though, curiously, not with H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* [1910]). Moreover, one cannot easily trace a Crawford entry to the corresponding Sydenham one. The reverse is simple.) The catalog, though excellent, seems less easy to use than Sydenham's; it does not state the metal of the entry. Beginning students may not know whether the *litra* or the *stater* was bronze, silver, or gold. In fact, the beginner may not realize that the left-hand column describes the obverse and the

right-hand, the reverse. The plates, unfortunately, are barely adequate.

For abandonment of style as a major criterion in the determination of chronology, scholars will be grateful—though not surprised, in view of the author's previous work on hoards. These hoards, and certain key coins and archeological data, are chief determinants in the placement of the coins. In comparison with Sydenham, this book changes the dates for the earliest coinage and places the introduction of the denarius system in 211 B.C.; the whole of the denarius coinage before 90 B.C. is shifted back in time.

Crawford's conclusions, though mostly judicious and sound, are occasionally overstated and sometimes shaky. For example, assignment of didrachms (1: 42–43) to specific censors is both tortuous and unconvincing. The dating of some coins that apparently allude to contemporary events may be wrong. For reasons that cannot be set forth here, I think the date for the retariffing of the denarius—and immediately subsequent issues—is placed too late. Also, it seems incredible that the Senate would issue a special coin to purchase grain under Saturninus' law (Piso-Caepio, catalog no. 330), which glorifies Saturninus, with its Saturn obverse. More likely it was issued to support some counterprogram of grain purchase.

Crawford is also unnecessarily harsh in assessing the views of others; he often describes the conclusions of respected scholars as "nonsense" or "fantastic" or "not requiring refutation." On one much-disputed question—whether all plated coins are forgeries—in which I think Crawford likely wrong, Crawford suggests that anyone who disagrees is attributing to the Romans a policy that would have been "idiocy." He clearly implies that the Romans were not the idiots. In extenuation it ought to be said that the great difficulties inherent in some numismatic problems have indeed led to flights of fancy such as would scarcely be tolerated in better-documented fields of study.

In a work of this scope there are hundreds of problems crying out for solution and thousands of decisions to be made. Crawford has not drawn back from attempting solution of the more important of them; his approach has been rational, his solutions logical and sometimes illuminating. This will become the standard work on the coinage of the Republic. It belongs in every college and university library.

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RICHARD BRILLIANT. *Roman Art: From the Republic to Constantine*. [London:] Phaidon; distrib. by Prae-

ger Publishers, New York. 1974. Pp. 288. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$6.95.

Professor Brilliant presents a stimulating survey. The first part, five chapters, treats a number of major themes: Roman architecture, triumphal monuments, ostentatious display, ornament and decoration, Roman realism, nonperiodic styles, Roman eclecticism, and curiosity about peoples, places, things, and events. Part two, only one chapter, affords a chronological survey. There are three hundred illustrations scattered throughout the text, mostly of less-than-page size, and numbered by chapter and sequence therein. The select bibliography, also by chapters, is in fact very full. There follows a "chronological companion" listing important historical events, a list of the illustrations, and an index.

The book presents three difficulties. The illustrations appear at the points of their major relevance but are often referred to both before and after, which necessitates much thumbing to locate the right chapter. Grouping all illustrations together in one numbered sequence might have facilitated reference, though at the cost of variety offered by combining illustrations and text on the pages. Second, the language is sometimes abstruse, for example, "fixated" (p. 12), "nontectonic" (p. 14), or "porticated" (p. 75). Third, references to the pictures are not always clear. For example, the baths of Septimius on the Palatine (p. 79) are referred to in chapter 1, figure 34 (p. 45), part of a plastic model of imperial Rome in which the buildings are not identified.

These and similar minor faults do not detract, however, from the suggestive interpretation of Roman art as an expression of Roman character and an instrument of Roman public policy. The realistic approach of Italic and Etruscan art was never wholly eliminated by the adoption of Greek polish, refinement, and idealization. Even Pompeian copying of Greek paintings, or Hadrianic imitation of archaic and classical Greek sculpture, did not crush the Italic spirit. These two approaches are often contrasted as "plebeian" and "patrician," but "Italic" and "Hellenic" are better terms, since realistic art was not restricted to lower social strata. Indeed, as Roman art spread to the provinces, the Italic tradition tended to prevail in the western and Danubian areas.

The Romans combined Italic realism with a commitment of art to public purposes (ch. 2). Propagandist art was not unknown in Greece, as for example, in the friezes of the Parthenon or of the Great Altar of Pergamum. The Greeks, however, generalized or symbolized the historical event, whereas the Romans portrayed actual

scenes. The Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, of the very late Republic (pp. 197-98), interestingly shows two friezes, one Hellenic symbolizing a naval victory by a parade of sea deities, and one Roman, an actual scene of sacrifice. Similarly Augustus's *Ara Pacis* has symbolic reliefs on its ends and real processions along its sides. The reliefs of the great imperial monuments of the early empire portray actual scenes.

Roman art is a major source for the historian, not only because it represents actual people and events, but because it evokes the Roman temperament and concepts. This book, therefore, affords valuable insights for the historian of ancient Rome.

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### MEDIEVAL

N. J. G. POUNDS. *An Economic History of Medieval Europe*. New York: Longman. [1974.] Pp. xi, 562. \$14.50.

This is a well-balanced survey of the economic history of Europe from the late Roman period to the end of the fifteenth century. In that this is basically a textbook, it might well be asked why it is being reviewed in this journal. The justification lies in the depth of treatment accorded the subject and Pounds's concentration on economic developments to the almost complete exclusion of social history. There are not likely to be many courses in economic history that deal with the Middle Ages alone; hence the book, in spite of its textbook nature, will almost certainly fill the role of reference or secondary material found in a good college or university library.

Professor Pounds presents us with a volume that combines two methods of approach. The first three chapters and the concluding chapter are general surveys of the economic life of the time: the later Roman Empire, the early Middle Ages, the expansion of the medieval economy, and the late Middle Ages. Between this general material there is a series of chapters on separate elements of medieval economic life: population, agriculture and rural life, towns, manufacturing, trade, and the commercial revolution. Each of these central chapters is a complete unit in itself, presenting a general view of that facet of economic life and then analyzing in some detail the various interpretations of it that have been offered by recent scholars. Obviously Pounds is covering a number of broad fields and attempting to incorporate the work of a great many scholars; as a result he sometimes fails to do justice to the work of everyone.

But in general this work is very satisfactory. I

commend especially the material on agriculture and rural life, a subject so confused in the usual textbook on economic history as to be almost worthless. Pounds presents no unified interpretation of medieval rural life, but he does make it possible for the student to comprehend just why there were so many different agricultural systems being pursued at the same time and why we do not really know enough about them to offer any reliable conclusions about their relative dispersion.

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ALF J. MAPP JR. *The Golden Dragon: Alfred the Great and His Times*. La Salle, Ill.: Open Court. 1974. Pp. x, 224, 2 charts. \$8.95.

This book is a scholarly popularization with footnotes and bibliography. Translations of Alfred's laws and of his will are added as appendixes. The book deals with Alfred's military, administrative, literary, and educational achievements and with his influence on English and European history and culture. To make a fuller narrative, Mapp pieces out what facts we have with more or less probable conjecture. William of Malmesbury, who has something to say of royal education after Alfred and of Alfred's interest in English poetry, does not appear in the bibliography.

A few errors may result from Mapp's not being a specialist in the period. When he calls Ethelbald's marriage to his young stepmother Judith "contrary both to Christian custom and the pagan practices which the Saxons once followed," he ignores the fact that this Germanic form of levirate marriage had led to conflict between Eadbald of Kent and Laurentius of Canterbury and had persisted until the twelfth century in Scotland (Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2: vi, and Plummer's note).

Material from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is not always handled judiciously. The chronicle's summing up of the long campaign against the Danes (s.a. 897) is given as, "By the grace of God, the army had not on the whole afflicted the English people very seriously." Even if this were the best possible translation, it should be followed by the next sentence, which Mapp omits, to give the full picture: "Nevertheless, they [the English] had suffered greatly . . . with the death of livestock and men, particularly because many of the best of the King's thegns . . . had died during those three years."

The account of the naval action off Devon in the same year is thoroughly botched. There was not one engagement, as Mapp implies; there were two. The Danes in the second had beached their ships to go ashore, not inadvertently run them aground; and two of these ships later drifted ashore because

they had lost most of their crews, not because of particularly bad weather.

Although some passages in the book may annoy the specialist, it is a rather lively panegyric that should give the amateur a proper respect for Alfred without seriously misleading him.

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V. H. GALBRAITH. *Domesday Book: Its Place in Administrative History*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xxxv, 193. \$13.00.

R. WELLDON FINN. *Domesday Book: A Guide*. London: Phillimore & Company; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1975. Pp. xiv, 109. \$8.00.

When *The Making of Domesday Book* by Professor Galbraith appeared in 1961, it was considered the most important book on the subject since the fundamental studies by J. H. Round and F. W. Maitland in the late nineteenth century. It not only revised Round's classic explanation of how the data were collected and arranged in Domesday Book, but it also weakened the conclusion of most historians that William the Conqueror ordered the famous inquest of 1086 so that he would have a reliable record of the amount of geld he could collect from his new realm. Galbraith made a compelling argument that Domesday Book was a feudal, not a fiscal record. The present book elaborates these conclusions and convincingly argues that Domesday Book was a blueprint for the type of Norman-Angevin government that emerged during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In laying the foundation for this feudal government, Domesday Book became a point of reference, consulted throughout the Middle Ages by lawyers and by officials of the Exchequer and the Household. Galbraith's thesis is, of course, antithetical to the iconoclastic position of H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles that Domesday Book was a vast administrative mistake, a useless record produced at the whim of the Conqueror and forgotten after a generation. Domesday Book may not be the unique sort of medieval government record that most English historians consider it to be, but it certainly is not as inconsequential as Richardson and Sayles avow it to have been.

Noteworthy among the chapters of this book, where each is a distillation of Galbraith's immense erudition, are those concerned with Domesday Book historiography, the satellite sources, the compilation, and the geld fallacy. Ever mindful of the contributions of such Victorian scholars as W. Stubbs, Round, and Maitland, Galbraith shows how they were led astray in some of their research and asked the wrong questions of Domesday Book

because of their preoccupation with early Germanic freedom and their involvement in the epic struggle between Germanist and Romanist. The only weakness of this book—if it can be considered such—is that while citing with approval those scholars whose research has broken with the Victorian tradition, Galbraith remains faithful to the insular tradition of English scholarship and studies Domesday Book with no attempt to relate it to similar records of an earlier time on the Continent, with no thought that the English borough knew a social, economic, and institutional development comparable to that of the Continental town. Galbraith, however, has written a book that will delight and edify its readers; he is at present the only person with the knowledge required for the task.

Of a quite different genre is the little book by Mr. Finn, who until his recent death was also an acknowledged expert on Domesday Book. Written on an elementary level, it concisely explains the purpose of Domesday Book and describes the kind of information provided on such matters as geld, plowlands, plow teams, slaves, peasants, tenants-in-chief, animals, manors, churches, boroughs, forests, and agrarian equipment. It is a clear and succinct introduction to a record acknowledged by all to be cryptic and difficult.

Both Galbraith and Finn declare that further research must be done on Domesday Book before its true significance will be understood. Undoubtedly this is true, but little will be gained if the well-plowed furrows are merely plowed again. To justify future research on Domesday Book historians will have to free it from the insularity that has hitherto been its trade-mark and to explain it in terms of the feudal and institutional history of Western Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

BRYCE LYON  
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R. H. HELMHOLZ. *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England*. (Cambridge Studies in English Legal History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1975. Pp. x, 246. \$23.00.

To start with the Latin footnotes, a few make sexy reading, and each contains evidence from Church-court records, notably at York and Canterbury, to support Helmholtz's considered conclusions. Major ones are that the most common matrimonial case was a suit "to enforce a marriage contract" and that "divorces," in medieval parlance, were far fewer in England, 1200–1500, than the 1972 report of the Church of England implied. It stated that a medieval man and wife wishing to dissolve their marriage "could probably discover a ground



for its nullity." The cases prove that divorces "were not freely granted," and "historians do wrong to speak of the ease and the frequency of divorce for consanguinity and affinity." Moreover, marriage cases, compared with common-law litigation, were quickly settled, and many suits were compromised through "informal discussion and bargaining." Changes did occur over the three centuries in canonical practice. For example, "marriage as a penalty for fornication" was abandoned as inconsistent with the Christian matrimonial ideal. Helmholz concedes that the "unitary view of marriage practice . . . is largely correct," and yet the variations that he discloses are what enliven his history.

A motif recurrent throughout this topical analysis of marriage litigation is the triumph of practice over theory, of common sense over logic, and of case law over formularies and glosses. Actual cases of real-life litigation in the Church courts, with the very names of the parties, the proctors, and the judges, all go to make the story vivid. Likewise, lay usages, like private marriage contracts made at home with but few witnesses, "self-divorce" with the neighbors' acceptance thereof, and the settlement of marriage questions by "important men" meeting "in the parish church" did much to humanize medieval practice and to make credible medieval married life despite the technicalities of canon law. Judges, too, were flexible, and they used discretion to resolve many a marital dispute in a nonlitigious manner.

In his interpretations Helmholz has used imagination, but with due caution, and good judgment in reaching conclusions. He writes without dogmatism, yet not uncritically, he puts penetrating questions, and he answers most of them fully. His book suggests links between the two juridical systems of England rather than disjunction. The connection between marriage litigation in Church courts and derivative disputes over bastardy, dower, or inheritance in the king's courts needs to be expounded. Few today are so well qualified as is Helmholz to write such a complementary treatise.

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M. G. A. VALE. *Charles VII*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 267. \$18.00.

Malcolm Vale's new book on Charles VII, the first in a projected series on monarchs of early modern France, is especially welcome because a new study of this important reign has long been needed. Except for a concluding chapter on ceremonial, the book is arranged chronologically. The author's main purpose is to present the reign's political

history to educated laymen as well as scholars. He leads us through the feud between Armagnac and Burgundian, the dark years of the "Kingdom of Bourges," the career of Joan of Arc, the victories of the 1440s, the king's struggles against princely conspiracies, and his long estrangement from his son.

The most valuable feature of the book is the author's treatment of court politics. Personalities and factions at court had much to do with actual governmental policies in the critical years of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the early modern French state was born. They are especially important for the reign of Charles VII, since they help explain his supposed lethargy in certain periods and his bad relations with the dauphin. Vale handles the complexities of court politics with clarity and skill. Charles was subjected to many influences and many favorites, but he usually escaped their domination and kept them guessing as to where they stood with him. The most sustained influence at court was that of the queen's Angevin relatives, but Charles forced them to share their influence with rivals. Throughout his reign he had to trim in order to maintain peaceful relations with the powerful competing houses—Anjou, Brittany, Burgundy, and Orléans.

Because the book is intended for a wider audience than scholars alone, Vale devotes considerable space to famous figures like Joan of Arc and Jacques Coeur, but I regret the lack of attention to the administrative developments that gave the reign its main importance. The treaty with Burgundy in 1435 was followed by a decade in which Paris was recovered, regular annual taxation re-established, the currency stabilized, and the standing army of *compagnies d'ordonnance* instituted. These changes helped bring an end to brigandage and re-established royal power on solid, permanent foundations. They deserve more emphasis than the peripheral treatment that Vale gives them.

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN  
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HERBERT JANKUHN *et al.*, editors. *Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter: Bericht über ein Symposium in Reinhäusen bei Göttingen in der Zeit vom 18. bis 24. April 1972*. Volume 2. (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse. Third Series, number 84.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1974. Pp. 322, 77.

The second volume from the 1972 Reinhäusen Symposium on early towns in medieval Europe comprises twenty-two lectures, mostly in German, on wider Scandinavia and the western Slavs together with Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria.



Like volume 1 it has no index, and therefore it might be useful to note briefly the sites with which the papers are concerned.

According to Mårten Stenberger, only the third period of the circular wall of Eketorp on the island of Öland protected a townlike community since ca. 1000 (pp. 7–18). The Iron Age grain find of 1971 on the spot seems to come from a field of barley. Considering cereals and weeds, Hans Helbaek recognizes a cultivated area, a marshy soil, and possibly a high pasture land as the three habitats around the wall (pp. 19–20). Wilhelm Holmquist describes the islet of Helgö in Mälaren west of Stockholm as the predecessor of Birka from the fifth to the seventh century, especially regarding handicraft, trade, and dense population (pp. 21–29). For more than two centuries Hedeby was a center of industries and trade, showing even in the earliest stratum, already from the ninth century, some sort of planning and administrative guidance (Kurt Schietzel, pp. 30–39). The port as the economic basis of the inhabitants, though given up with the tenth century, is the intelligible thesis of Charlotte Blindheim for Kaupang in Skiringssal, south of Oslo (pp. 40–57). By means of the excavations of 1969–71 at Birka, Björn Ambrosiani dates the piers for the ninth-century town into the beginning of the tenth century; only then a smaller area was protected by a town wall (pp. 58–63). Viborg in northern Jutland is presented by Erik Levin-Nielsen as an agglomeration without handicraft and trade, originating only from the periodical assemblies of the regional thing, until it became a privileged royal town in the twelfth century (pp. 64–81). Per Lundström looks at Paviken I, south southeast of Visby on Gotland, as a possible trading station of Svear merchants (pp. 82–93). For the royal town of Århus, the period from the tenth to the twelfth century is treated separately from the sea trade center since about 1200 by H. Hellmuth Andersen (pp. 94–100). Volker Vogel confirms the thesis of Schleswig's succession to Hedeby during the second half of the eleventh century by looking into the excavations of two churches and one local area until September 1972 (pp. 101–12). Archeological corroboration of the saga statement that Olav Kyrre founded Bergen in Norway about 1070 is discussed by Asbjørn Herteig, who additionally refers to 551 runic inscriptions from the spot (pp. 113–27). Though originating from a royal mint of Canute the Great about 1020, Lund, according to Adam of Bremen, was planned as a second London and developed into an important trading center for Europe north of the Alps (Ragnar Blomquist, pp. 128–45). No royal participation can be traced in the history of the *kaupang* of Borgund in Sunnmøre, western Norway. Staple trade in fish could not preserve

its importance through the later Middle Ages, as Herteig points out (pp. 146–58).

Witold Hensel elaborates his system of proto-germs and germs of towns and finally towns of local rights for Poland before the period of "real" medieval towns, but sees exceptions, mainly in Pomerania (pp. 176–89). Therefore his models are not mentioned by Władysław Filipowiak on Wolin as a center of handicraft from the ninth to the twelfth century (pp. 190–208) and by Lech Leci-jewicz on Szczecin from the second half of the eighth century onward (pp. 209–30) or by Werner Neugebauer, who prefers Lübeck's market area as the first German settlement of 1143 (pp. 231–38). Bohuslav Chropovský offers amazing material for analyzing the Nitrava-Nitra of the *Conversio Bagoariorum* as an all-important place from the fifth to the eleventh century (pp. 159–75), and Miroslav Richter stresses the differences with regard to the covering of the sites with buildings even in small founded towns of Bohemia during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (pp. 239–57). A castrum type of early agglomerations in Hungary since the tenth century is the thesis of Ladislaus Gerevich for Székesfehérvár, Esztergom, and Győr (pp. 258–76), and fortifications were the nucleus, too, for many towns of Romania since the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Mircea Matei, pp. 277–88). On the other side Stamen Michailov stresses continuity in building traditions and water supplies for the early medieval residences of Pliska and Preslav in Bulgaria.

In his synthesis on the factors for town development in early medieval Europe, Herbert Jankuhn confirms the variety of motives and tendencies (pp. 305–22). For the non-Roman world he singles out the "emancipation of certain non-agricultural professions from the agrarian society" (p. 320), though not specially discussing Yakov A. Levitsky's artisanal theory, as proposed for more highly developed centers in tenth- to twelfth-century England—or Michailov's confirmation that agriculture remained supreme even in early Bulgarian towns. Like Jankuhn himself, most of the authors are archeologists and emphasize not only the broadening of our knowledge, but again and again also stress the situation that archeology alone can provide materials for many sites or even whole types of agglomerations, which otherwise would remain unknown to the historian, because of lack of any information on them in written sources, for example, Eketorp, Helgö, Paviken I, and the smaller towns in late medieval Bohemia. Medieval archeology no longer looks at herself as an auxiliary science for historians, who—in advance of any digging up—prepare written source material and point to the spot where the spade has to do its work, but presents themes, questions, and solu-

tions of her own. Nevertheless urban history is a topic of historical research in written sources also. And, considering the papers by Hensel, Gerevich, Michailov, and others, the old problem of ethnic correspondences of finds may even be transformed into the question of whether archeological data and their interpretation may contribute to the elucidation of the origin of nations in medieval Europe or not.

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JOHN MEYENDORFF. *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*. New York: Fordham University Press. 1974. Pp. 243. \$20.00.

There has long been a need for a substantial, definitive book on Byzantine Orthodox theology that takes into account both the theological and historical aspects of a subject which is absolutely indispensable for the understanding of both Byzantine history and civilization and the Greek Orthodox Church and religion. Professor John Meyendorff, certainly one of the most knowledgeable Orthodox scholars and clergymen in the world today, has produced the best synthesis of this subject in a highly compact but brilliantly developed book. His aim is "to describe the categories of theological thought as they were shaped in the framework of Byzantine Christian civilization, its philosophy of life, its liturgy, and its art, and as they persist in contemporary Eastern Orthodoxy" (pp. 1-2). The author is convinced and convincing in his position that the central theme of Byzantine theology is dynamic and highly relevant to contemporary man and that the Byzantines made a real and permanent contribution to the history of mankind in the field of religious thought because "Byzantium did indeed discover something fundamentally *true* about man's nature and its relationship to God" (p. 2). In this regard the Byzantine notion of *theosis* (sometimes translated by the Latin "deification") is central to a correct view of Byzantine theology, which constantly endeavored to express Church tradition in the living categories of Greek thought. Though the author does not seek to limit himself to a description of the idea of "deification" and its development in patristic Greek thought, he is constantly aware of its total significance in what proves to be a sophisticated analysis of the entire historical development of theological ideas in Byzantium relating to God-man relations. In the first part of the book the major historical trends of Byzantine theology are sensitively described, while in the second part a systematic synthesis describes the results of Byzantine theological thought. In the first nine chapters Byzantine theology after Chalcedon (the start-

ing point of Byzantine theology for this study), the Christological issue, the Iconoclastic crisis, monks and humanists, monastic theology, the canonical sources of ecclesiology, the schism between East and West, the encounter with the West, and *Lex Orandi* are discussed with great precision and care—all leading up to the conclusion that the character and method of Byzantine theology are determined by the relationship between God and the world, between creator and creation, and embrace an anthropology that finds its ultimate key in Christology. The author is very meticulous in pointing up the differences in approach marking Eastern as against Western interpretations of crucial doctrinal issues within the larger context of differences of cultural orientation. The millennium of essential continuity in Byzantine theology from Chalcedon to the fall of Constantinople is duly noted. It is a continuity not imposed by any formal authority but reflected "in a consistent theological way of thought, in a consistent understanding of man's destiny in relation to the world" (p. 4), given authority by the consensus of theologians on basic theology in a living content of Christian theology that must always be consonant with apostolic and patristic witness, and transferred from generation to generation, although Byzantium was less prone than the West to conceptualize or to dogmatize the unity of tradition.

The first part of Dr. Meyendorff's book is incredibly rich in its coverage of theological controversies, distinctive Byzantine tendencies, and the basic sources of Byzantine theological thought. In the second part Meyendorff paints a more systematic picture of Byzantine theology in a plan that follows "the content of the Christian experience itself: man, created and fallen, meets Christ, accepts the action of the Spirit, and is thus introduced into communion with the Triune God" (p. 128). The eight compact chapters in this part discuss with admirable clarity and insightfulness the Creation, Man, Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Triune God, the Cycle of Life in sacramental theology, the Eucharist, and the Church in the world. In Byzantine theology it is clear that the Incarnation of the Logos was consistently regarded as possessing cosmic significance and that man through *theosis* achieves the supreme goal for which he was created, a goal already realized by Christ through God's love and involving both the significance of human history and a judgment over man to which man is free to respond, as he will. *Theosis*, then, as the chief theme of Byzantine theology, is the process by which man, through Christ, recovers his original relationship to God and "grows into God 'from glory to glory'" (p. 225). Byzantine theology reflects an anthropology that sees humanity as very much open, developing,

growing, and capable of responding to God's love through Christ in the human search for a God who is transcendent, existentially experienced, and immanently present in man.

*Byzantine Theology*, fortified by scholarly documentation after each chapter and a manageable but not exhaustive multilingual bibliography and index and equipped with a highly perceptive introduction, conclusion, and a superb main text, will become an extremely valuable and definitive source for a much-needed, brilliant synthesis of Byzantine Christian thought, now available for the first time in English.

JOHN E. REXINE  
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GILBERT DAGRON. *Naissance d'une capitale: Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*. Preface by PAUL LEMERLE. (Bibliothèque byzantine, Études, 7.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1974. Pp. 578.

More than any other medieval society, the Byzantine Empire was dominated by its capital city; for much of its history we know almost nothing of Byzantine provincial life. Yet the history of Constantinople has yet to be systematically analyzed. Professor Dagron has made a major contribution to the subject in this massive and provocative work. Taking a period he considers formative, 330–451, the author traces the city from an emperor's personal residence to the permanent capital of the Byzantine world through the development of five major institutions—the imperial residence, the senate, the urban prefecture, the patriarchate, and the populace. The importance of the work goes beyond what the title promises, for Constantinople is never studied in isolation, and Dagron's institutional studies add fundamentally to our understanding of early Byzantine society. The book begins with an analysis of the traditions for the foundation of the city, most of which date no earlier than the sixth century. Dagron distinguishes between later tradition, which saw Constantine's foundation as an act of choice between the old and the new Rome, and early sources, where the city was above all a dynastic capital identified with the personality of its founder. Permanence came only when the city outlived the House of Constantine. The author believes that three elements dominated its development: the Thracian past, transplanted Roman institutions, and the presence of the emperor. An intensive study, using an impressive array of evidence, is devoted to the assimilation of these elements in each of Dagron's chosen institutions. He uses coins and symbolic representations to illustrate the position of the city in the empire, and he assembles a

list of imperial movements to show the belated adoption of the capital as a permanent imperial residence. The treatment of the senate includes a chapter on the formation of the senatorial aristocracy and its impact on Byzantine society, and in tracing the urban prefecture, the author draws up a prosopographical dossier on each of the fourth- and fifth-century holders of the office. The section on the populace centers on the symbolic importance of the hippodrome, while the chapters on religion involve a detailed study of the role of the city in the Arian controversy. The work also makes contributions to the study of the demes and to the debate over the population of Constantinople. The work is not inclusive, and the author's interest in Constantinople as a symbol has forced him to omit topics important to any study of an ordinary city. But the book has more to offer than can possibly be conveyed in a short review. Dagron's study is clearly one of the most important works on early Byzantine institutions in recent years.

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## MODERN EUROPE

PERRY ANDERSON. *Lineages of the Absolutist State*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press. 1974. Pp. 573. \$25.00.

Anderson's work offers a notable contribution to our understanding of early modern European studies. A Marxist who has read widely in the scholarly literature of both Western and Eastern Europe, Anderson examines the relations between monarchy and aristocracy in the West—Spain, France, England, and Sweden are all contrasted to Italy—and in the East—Prussia, Poland, Austria, Russia, and the House of Islam—adding two lengthy notes on Japanese feudalism and the Asiatic mode of production.

Although decidedly not of Marxist persuasion, I nevertheless find a considerable challenge in Anderson's arguments. Defining Western European feudalism as a "system of parcellized sovereignty and scalar property," Anderson says the "contractual mutuality and positional inequality" of lord and vassal—provoking continual fissions of authority—permitted the consolidation of ethnic and linguistic plurality within the framework of a common religion organized without a superordinate political structure. The warrior's identification of contractual with sovereign relations caused him "to render the pride of rank compatible with the humility of homage." But the dispersal of sovereignty also allowed towns to free

themselves from direct domination by rural ruling classes, and patriciates often formed important centers of opposition to aristocratic ambitions and ideology. Moreover, the commutation of dues into money rents shifted the loci of politico-legal coercion upwards from the village and simultaneously strengthened the freeman's property rights in that the substitution of money for personal service tended to allodialize his ownership. This two-fold process of centralization and silent allodialization—providing aristocracy with added security of ownership and greater opportunity for consolidation of larger property holdings—undermined the right of the nobility to political representation and, as a consequence, encouraged the reception of Roman law, a development contributing ultimately to a wholesale civic reappropriation of the classical cultural inheritance. Finally, the royal Renaissance state “created the general juridical conditions for a successful passage to the capitalist mode of production . . . in both town and country” by enhancing the social status and economic power of the nobility within a legal system altered so as to exclude them from effective exercise of rights associated with the traditional practices of *auxilium et consilium*.

We may disagree with Anderson's general views, but the value of his treatise lies in the wealth of insights that proceed from the breadth and depth of his comparative analysis. Anderson presents for the first time a systematic discussion of major problems in Marxist interpretation at a level somewhere between the realm of pure theory and the restrictive bounds of monographic research. There is no space here to review his treatment of Eastern Europe and the Orient. But, here again, he continues to compare one institution after the other with its Western counterparts. The sheer scope of Anderson's study raises the level of argument above the ordinary plane of scholarly literature. No serious historian will ignore this first-class work.

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E. JOHN B. ALLEN. *Post and Courier Service in the Diplomacy of Early Modern Europe*. (International Archives of the History of Ideas, Series Minor, 3.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1972. Pp. viii, 162.

This brief volume describes the growth of a royal courier service in the well-developed monarchies of Spain, France, and England in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The years covered are from 1559 to 1592, about the time and length of the reign of Queen Elizabeth in England. Embassies were set up in the three countries and were used as lookouts for possible dangers to the country the ambassador served. Regular routes were used by the couriers of the three states. There were, for example, four

routes out of London, two going westward and two to the nearby Continent.

The English-born author has gleaned numerous accounts of the travels of couriers from the state papers of Queen Elizabeth, which give a vivid idea of the work and dangers faced by the couriers. The couriers were a part of the household of the ambassador abroad and of the ruler and his important ministers at home. The book contains an appendix that lists some three hundred couriers by name, which seems hardly worthwhile as they were servants after all. The author believes that this royal service was conducted with integrity, because of the courier's double bond of loyalty to the state and to the master he served.

The volume concerns the working of the courier service and has little on the international problems of diplomacy. This service has no connection with the development during the same half century of a widespread network of postal services for the general population. This volume, published in The Hague, is listed, curiously, as the third volume of a series entitled *International Archives of the History of Ideas*.

HOWARD ROBINSON  
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PRESTON KING. *The Ideology of Order: A Comparative Analysis of Jean Bodin and Thomas Hobbes*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. 352. \$20.00.

This latest work of Preston King is cast in the same mold as his earlier *Fear of Power: An Analysis of Anti-Statism in Three French Writers* (1967), in which he used the ideas of Tocqueville, Proudhon, and Sorel to illuminate the pluralist bias against concentration of political power. In similar fashion, his *Ideology of Order* examines the thought of two absolutists, Bodin and Hobbes, for the light they may shed on the realities of centralized sovereign power. King's approach to Bodin and Hobbes is therefore novel. Instead of attempting an accurate exposition of their ideas, King states that his concern “is not just with what given historical figures thought, but with the nature and logic of social and political organization in so far as it may be perceived through or contradicted in their thought” (p. 23). In other words, he seeks to understand the nature and functioning of sovereignty by approaching it through the ideas of two outstanding theorists and evaluating their strengths and weaknesses, thereby expanding our knowledge of sovereign political power in all periods. The author's methodology is legitimate, and his effort is potentially rewarding, but in my opinion he fails to achieve his objective.

After very brief sketches of the chaotic civil wars in France and England, which caused both Bodin and Hobbes to seek peace and order through in-



creased absolutism. King analyzes and evaluates their social and political theories. His presentation of their positions properly focuses upon their ideas of sovereignty, and he makes many valid points that are, however, largely traditional despite his claim to the contrary and add little to the understanding of their thought. More important are King's critiques of Bodin and Hobbes. Here his method is merely to apply logic and recent political experience to the ideas of these men who lived and wrote more than three centuries ago. The result, inevitably, is that King finds their thought full of inadequacies and contradictions. A few examples will suffice. After correctly stating Bodin's doctrine that the sovereign was absolute within his sphere but limited by fundamental and higher law, King calls this doctrine inconsistent because no other power in the state could establish the line of demarcation between the two spheres of legal right and enforce the ruler's observation of it. He also accuses Bodin of ascribing illogical and impossible meanings to such qualities of sovereignty as "absolute," "unlimited," and "perpetual." And when Bodin advocates male supremacy and a single head for all families, King simply says that we know better. As for Hobbes, he finds his brand of absolutism indefensible as far as protection of individuals is concerned because it would actually increase the precariousness of their existence. And Hobbes was wrong because his type of absolutism was suited to a king but not a sovereign assembly. Many other instances might be cited. Throughout, King essentially uses Bodin and Hobbes as foils for his own reasoning, which is no better or worse than that of many other students of the science of politics. His conclusions, however, rest merely upon the authority of his logic and observations, both of which are limited. As an intellectual exercise the book may have a certain value, but it tells us little about Bodin, Hobbes, or the constants of politics.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH  
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K. G. DAVIES. *The North Atlantic World in the Seventeenth Century*. (Europe and the World in the Age of Expansion, volume 4.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 366. \$11.00.

Utilizing his own research and that of many other scholars, K. G. Davies has packed into a single volume of 366 pages a remarkable summary and interpretation of European contacts with and expansion into North America during the seventeenth century. Unlike many students of the subject, Davies does not concentrate upon the region that became the thirteen British colonies but spreads his net wide to take in all of the Caribbean islands, Canada, and the West Coast of Africa—

source of slave labor for the American colonies. His treatment of Spanish influences in North America is somewhat less inclusive, but he emphasizes the vulnerability of the Spanish Empire in America during the seventeenth century, the impact of Spanish possessions overseas on Western Europe—especially the Mediterranean countries—and the eventual explicit recognition by Spain in 1670 of England's "right to have possessions in America" (p. 290).

For the reader who has not the time to keep up with the voluminous literature on the slave trade, Davies's observations and conclusions, based in part on his own studies, especially his *The Royal African Company* (1957), are particularly useful. He takes a somewhat skeptical view of a current doctrine that Spanish and Portuguese slavery in the New World was less oppressive than English and French slavery. Though Madrid and Lisbon issued humanitarian edicts, their enforcement overseas was another matter. Davies stresses a fact often overlooked by facile writers on the supposed white exploitation of Africa in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: it was a graveyard for white men, and their forts and factories, few in number, had a precarious existence on the coast. The commerce in slaves was already old before the Portuguese first landed in Africa; blacks had been selling blacks from time immemorial to one another and even across the Sahara. The legend that internal African wars were incited by whites for the purpose of capturing slaves thus in Davies's opinion is myth. In short, Davies provides an objective and scholarly interpretation of this vexed topic, which, he observes, has been muddled by "speculation bedeviled by two centuries of breast-beating on the part of humanitarians as well as, more recently, the assertions of nationals" (p. 258).

Chapters on the first probing of North America by Europeans, the planting of colonies, the quality of the settlers, the products of land and sea, the governments established, the impacts on the native peoples, and the repercussions in Europe supply an excellent synthesis of the latest scholarship on these subjects. Specialists, of course, may complain that the author has slighted some important topic or given an interpretation with which they do not agree, but few recent books provide so fair and so useful an interpretation of this important century. Davies also supplies careful documentation and a valuable bibliographical essay. Academic and nonspecialist readers alike can thank the author for a work that is both scholarly and readable.

LOUIS B. WRIGHT  
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LOUIS T. MILIC, editor. *The Modernity of the Eighteenth Century*. (Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture:

Proceedings of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, volume 1). Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1971. Pp. xxi, 243. \$6.95.

Too often papers presented at scholarly conferences pass into obscurity as members of the profession scatter at the time of adjournment. At the first meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in 1970, the wise decision was made to record and publish not only the most important of the papers but also many of the challenging comments that followed during the discussion periods. The present volume is the product of that decision.

The essays are all original pieces, and some are controversial. The collection is a tribute to interdisciplinary studies; this is particularly gratifying because the society was founded in order to promote this type of inquiry. Only four of the nine essays published here deal explicitly with the stated theme of the conference: the modernity of the eighteenth century. The debate over the modernity of the eighteenth century is at least as old as Carl Becker's now discredited indictment of the philosophes as warmed-over medievalists, but the debate, as this volume demonstrates, is not yet settled to the satisfaction of specialists.

In the least-well substantiated of the essays concerning the modernity question, Robert E. Schofield concludes that the scientific method was decidedly not modern at all in the eighteenth century, but his exploration of the problem is more an expression of disappointment than an open-minded investigation. Stuart Hampshire, on the other hand, is lucid and cogent in arguing that philosophy in the eighteenth century was modern because it dealt with the problem of the reconciliation between naturalness and urbanity. Ronald Paulson with typical brilliance addresses the question of what it means to be modern in writing a novel. Lester G. Crocker once more reveals his fascination with the irrational; he believes it to be characteristic of Western culture since the eighteenth century. My objection to this symposium on modernity is endemic to this means of asking questions—no criteria as to what modernity means are agreed upon by the participants; as a result, the best we can get is some insight into the problem (and we do), but no real consensus or lack of it is possible.

The most impressive of these essays are peripheral to the central theme. J. F. Bosher's delineation of Alfred Cobban's understanding of the relation between Enlightenment thought and the French Revolution—another inevitable question in eighteenth-century studies—is authoritative and reveals Bosher's intimate knowledge of both

Cobban's work and life. Aram Vartanian is as controversial and arresting as ever in his paper, "Intertextures of Science and Humanism in the French Enlightenment." And Irvin Erenpreis shows us that the problem of poverty was not a matter of great concern to the great Augustan writers.

We should welcome this effort for what it is without expecting that the cluster of papers, which form the proceedings of a conference, have more coherence as a volume in print than they had as they were actually read. We shall know always what major critics believed concerning some issues in eighteenth-century studies at the opening of this decade. The next generation of scholars should find this helpful indeed.

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CHARLES ROSEN. *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*. New York: Viking Press. 1971. Pp. 467. \$12.50.

It did not occur to the publisher to send a copy of *The Classical Style* to the *AHR*: both author and publisher must have seen its scholarly interest as limited to musicological circles, not as extending to historians in general. The book was widely and favorably reviewed and received a National Book Award; its reputation—and that of its author, who is both a scholar and a superb concert artist—made me turn to it, as a music lover and in connection with some writing I was doing in the year after its publication. But, as editor of the *AHR* at a time when the ultimate administrative and political authority over the journal was still favorable to the notion that its services could be expanded, I saw Rosen's book as a cardinal instance of the kind of coverage in the history of the arts that has (either from editorial caution or publishers' whims) characterized the *AHR* only sporadically and that should be broadened. The long delay in publishing this review—for which I apologize—is due, first, to my failure as editor to find an available reviewer who was technically equipped and who had the requisite musical and historical sensibility, and, second, to my hesitancy to review it myself. But I have continued to think that the book is of first importance to historians as historians—though surely reading it will make it impossible for them as listeners ever again to hear the music of the three composers without the benefits of its insights—and so, despite my inability to cope with the formidable technical analysis on its own level, I have tried to say where that importance lies.

At the simplest level—leaving aside the not en-



tirely flippant notion that, if even a handful of musicological studies are as rewarding as this one, score-reading might be as useful a talent as the statistical techniques we are now all urged to acquire—the most valuable task Rosen performs for historians who must deal in their teaching or writing with general intellectual history is to demonstrate that Beethoven belongs firmly in the classical school, that he is not a Romantic or proto-Romantic composer, and that, despite his towering prestige, what was creative in the Romantic generation was worked out in reaction against, not as a development from, Beethoven's accomplishment.

Second, Rosen forces us to think in terms of a classical *style*, of a sonata *style*, rather than of form: a style that emerged swiftly from the creative experimentation of the third quarter of the eighteenth century and reached almost instant perfection at the hands of Haydn. After Beethoven there was no place for the style to go—though go it did, into a codification of form, of rules of composition that looked back to “classical” norms which were in fact only frequent and in no way obligatory characteristics of that style. A further and in some ways ultimate (note the increasing chromaticism and the gradual de-emphasis of the cadence in nineteenth-century composition) development of the tonal commitment of Western music, and also a stage in the long destruction of the linear aspect of music, the classical style, as Rosen sees it, is a musical language, or grammar, based on the manipulation in agreed (and frequently conventional) ways of short, articulated, periodic phrases, in contrast to the “encompassing and sweeping continuity” of the Baroque, with both parts and whole characterized by “the symmetrical resolution of opposing forces”—a language that lent itself to dramatic and comic expression with a naturalness and conviction unavailable to earlier generations and that Rosen shows informing the entire spectrum of compositional forms from serious and comic opera, to concertos and orchestral works, to chamber music and religious music. The ear must be educated, he argues (p. 296), to the stylistic language, not to superficial formalities: “Such rules as the classical style genuinely developed—the need for resolution, the sense of proportion and of a closed and framed pattern—are never broken at all. They are its means of communication, and it could say astonishing things without violating its own grammar. As for the conventional patterns that so many composers used unthinkingly, they were not the rules of grammar but clichés: they were turned into rules when the musical language changed, and the pressures and the forces that had produced the classical style (along with its idioms and formulas) were exhausted and died.” To at-

tempt a summary of a complex and subtle analysis is, particularly in an amateur's hands, risky; but what can be said is that the opening chapters and much of the argument elsewhere in the book profoundly repay close study by general intellectual historians because they force attention to definition and encourage, indeed enforce, consideration of similar stylistic developments in the other arts.

Finally, and perhaps most important, I must note what strikes me as the message of this book for the methods of intellectual history. We have heard a lot lately about the social history of ideas, and Rosen tells us much about the effect on classical composing of the technological limitations of instruments, the technical shortcomings of performers, the scarcity of resources, the changing nature of audiences, the spread of public performances, and the parallel rise of the skilled amateur. But in the end this book is about musical ideas and ways of handling them, about obligations, departures, and legacies. Its richness of insight and its interpretive importance derive from the author's technical capacity to cope with, and his willingness to confine himself to, the works themselves, from an authoritative analysis of the resolution of problems and the filiation of ideas on their own terms. *The Classical Style* is a caution against glib dismissal of the close and careful methods of traditional history of ideas—realized later perhaps in music history than in other fields—and it is also a triumph of good sense and imagination. What could be more encouraging than to know that Rosen is at work now on the Romantic style?

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MICHELE FATICA, editor. *Le relazioni diplomatiche fra lo Stato pontificio e la Francia*. Volume 1 (4 gennaio 1848–18 febbraio 1849); volume 2 (19 febbraio 1849–15 aprile 1850). (Fonti per la storia d'Italia. Documenti per la storia delle relazioni diplomatiche fra le grandi Potenze europee e gli Stati italiani, 1814–1860. Third Series: 1848–1860. Part 1, Documenti italiani.) Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per l'Età Moderna e Contemporanea. 1971; 1972. Pp. xiv, 554; xiii, 614. L. 5,500 each.

Now added to the five previously published collections of the diplomatic documents of Pius IX's pontificate are these two excellent volumes by Michele Fatica on Franco-Vatican relations in the very critical period of 1848 to 1850. The documents are drawn mainly from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and from four of its principal series: Segreteria di Stato, Nunziatura di Parigi, Archivio di Pio IX (Francia, particolari), and Epistolae ad Principes. From these sources a total of 591 signifi-

cant documents have been selected to fill the 1142 pages of this two-volume subseries. Most of the contents are correspondence of the cardinals secretaries of state, Giovanni Soglia Ceroni and Giacomo Antonelli, with their Paris nuncio, Raffaele Fornari; but a half dozen of the documents are letters between Pius IX and the French heads of state, Louis-Eugène Cavaignac and Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte. The importance of these documents can be seen by the topics they cover: the French February revolution, the Italian revolutions and reforms of 1848 and 1849, the French June insurrection of 1848, the French legislative and presidential elections of 1848, the Austro-Italian wars, the overthrow of the papal government in Rome, the papal flight to Gaeta, the French intervention and occupation in Rome, Franco-Austrian rivalry, British attitudes as relayed through the Paris nuncio, French ecclesiastical affairs, French demands for papal reforms, the famous letter to Colonel Edgard Ney, the pope's opposition to reforms and insistence on absolutism, the Rothschild loan, the proposed neutralization of the Papal States, and finally, the return of Pius IX to Rome in 1850. Of course this voluminous material also contains a great deal for biographical studies of such important men as Pius IX, Antonelli, Cavaignac, Louis-Napoléon, Lamartine, Bastide, Tocqueville, La Hitte, Archbishop Affre of Paris, Drouyn de Lhuys, Falloux, Oudinot, de Lesseps, Hübner, Molé, and James Rothschild.

The previous high standards of selection, critical editing, and presentation in all the series of the *Fonti per la Storia d'Italia* are observed again in this collection. All documents, mostly in Italian, are presented in full and with exactitude. Each document carries its precise archival reference, and each volume has about forty pages of documentary listings and summaries in the front and twenty pages of index of persons in the back. In spite of the comprehensiveness of this work, one might have wished also for the inclusion, from these archives, of the famous letter to Colonel Ney and Pius IX's liberalization statute of March 17, 1848, and proclamation to the people of Rome of July 17, 1849. These omissions notwithstanding, we have here a very creditable addition to the *Fonti*.

LYNN M. CASE  
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PAUL W. SCHROEDER. *Austria, Great Britain, and the Crimean War: The Destruction of the European Concert*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1972. Pp. xx, 544. \$19.50.

This is an impressive but curiously uneven book. It is an extremely detailed, meticulous, sometimes

tedious narrative of Crimean War diplomacy bound between general reflections that are more speculative, certainly more arguable, and not particularly well integrated or even always consistent with the main body of the work. The aim of Professor Schroeder's narrative is frankly revisionist, but in a conservative direction. His goal is to rehabilitate Austrian policy and its director, Count Buol—representative of a conservative, defensive, European-oriented attempt first to prevent the war and then to end it with a speedy and stable settlement—all within the framework of the European concert, which Buol was devoted to preserving. On the opposite side stood British policy makers. Aberdeen was weak and pacific. Clarendon was alternately vacillating and hysterical. But Palmerston and the other "hawks," steadily and myopically self-centered and aggressive, were bent on altogether isolating and humiliating Russia, destroying her influence and stripping her of territory, and on joining with France to break up the Holy Alliance with a liberal British-led bloc. All this was at the expense of not only Russia but also Austria, a putative ally and an "odious antithesis to Whig ideals" (p. 416). Diplomatic and military victory was pursued at any cost, even prolonging an unintended, unnecessary, and bungled war.

Behind all this were motives either ignoble or misguided: to enhance the government's prestige at home and abroad, to defend British military honor, and to preserve the always precarious cabinet by playing to the worst instincts of a bellicose public opinion. So far as there were ideological purposes, they were to extend the (according to Schroeder) facile and superficial Whig-Liberal ideology of Victorian constitutionalism to areas like Turkey, the Balkans, Germany, and Italy, where it was ill-suited, destabilizing, and positively dangerous. For such ends the British resorted to "cant and distortions," continual escalation of war aims that could not be met, and peace terms not meant to be accepted, "arguments so shoddy and tactics so dishonest" as to amount to "the plain man's definition of treachery" (pp. 273, 294, 234).

If this thesis, which is not altogether new, is at times overstated, Professor Schroeder has nonetheless marshaled an imposing body of evidence from a very impressive array of archival sources. There lies the problem; at least within the limits of British, French, and Austrian diplomatic aims and strategy we are told perhaps even more than we care to know, in excessive and wearisome detail. The book conveys the impression of an author overburdened with the weight of his own massive research. But the book has more important conceptual problems. Its focus is narrow, traditional diplomatic history; and it would have been nar-

rower still if the author had followed his own unfortunate canons in the preface. In defending his traditional craft against contemporary efforts to broaden it (for example, into decision-making studies or psychohistory), he digs in his heels in quite the wrong place, insisting that "the main goal of diplomatic history ought to be accounting not for the determinants of policy, but for the results." "The dynamics of international relations operate to a considerable degree autonomously, independent of decisions and their determinants. It is less important to know why statesmen took certain actions than to know what reactions and results those actions produced in the international arena" (pp. xvi, xiv). Surely the responsibility of the diplomatic historian cannot stop here. Too much of what we want to know, in the diplomatic present as in the past, involves why and how a decision was made, which surely affects its substance. Results simply cannot be understood in isolation from their determinants. Indeed, when Schroeder leaves off theorizing and proceeds to his narrative, he examines at length the motives, attitudes, and ideologies of his major characters. His preface notwithstanding, he traces British recklessness to "the result of particular circumstances and personalities, especially Palmerston's," who made "the crucial difference in British policy" (pp. 419, 410), while "the policy Austria followed was distinctively Buol's" (p. 392). These are statesmen and governments making choices that matter, not abstract dynamics operating autonomously.

In the last chapter the preceding narrative themes are transformed into a theoretical analysis of the European state system in the nineteenth century. In Schroeder's sympathetic view, the maintenance of peace after 1815 rested not so much on "a crude, mechanical balance of power approach" (p. 420), as on three factors: the conservative, status quo, antirevolutionary spirit of the great powers; the moral restraint of the concert of Europe; and the loose defensive structure of Germany and Italy—all of these centering on Austria. It is perhaps no accident that Schroeder's conservative, empirical stance, which roundly condemns the ideological illusions and levity of doctrinaire Whig-Liberalism, is strongly reminiscent of Henry Kissinger's earlier treatment of Metternich (nor is this necessarily a criticism).

The author's concluding reflections on the necessities of life in an international system, like his narrative, contain much good sense. Nonetheless, they remain too Austro-centric, too uncritical of the price that Austro-conservatism exacted, and again too narrow in focus, tending to pass over the enormous movements in European life that do not fit between these two Austro-British political and ideological poles—as when he refers, in a single

passing phrase, to "the transformation the industrial revolution was creating in Prussia and Germany" (p. 390). No doubt the Crimean War changed a great many things—the relationships among the great powers not least—and opened the way to the truly momentous events of the following fifteen years. Still, to declare flatly that it destroyed "any viable European state system" (p. 423) and the concert of Europe along with it, mainly under the impetus of the British Whigs, is to give a wretched little war and a confused party of jingo reformers more credit than they deserve.

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Reed College

GEORGES HAUPT. *Socialism and the Great War: The Collapse of the Second International*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1972. Pp. vi, 270. \$17.00.

In this book Georges Haupt has given us the benefit of his research in much unpublished material, supplemented by the use of a wealth of secondary sources, and has thus greatly enriched our knowledge of details in the futile attempt of the International to prevent the outbreak of World War I. Among the materials he has brought to light are documents relating to the preparations for the International Socialist Congress, scheduled to be held in Vienna in 1914 but canceled because of the outbreak of hostilities, and the minutes of the last meeting of the International Socialist Bureau, held immediately before the beginning of the war.

The book is cautious in its attempts at analysis. For instance, in discussing the various hypotheses about the reasons why in August 1914 the German Social Democratic party adopted the policy of its right wing, Haupt refuses to accept the task "to examine these apparently contradictory interpretations" (p. 213). This reticence is commendable because of the ambiguity of much of the material; but such analysis as the book does contain is not always convincing. One of Haupt's major themes is the struggle, in the last fifteen years before the war, between the German and the French socialists over the means that should be employed by the International for the enforcement of peace. The French—under the leadership of not only Vaillant but also Jaurès—pressed for a commitment to the general strike as an antiwar weapon, and the Germans consistently opposed it. But Jaurès, the author of *L'Armée nouvelle*, was neither an antipatriot nor a radical antimilitarist. Why did he, though essentially a reformist, take the more radical side in this matter? It can only be because by temperament he was an activist whose judgment about the probability of success in strong action was often blurred by his inability to countenance passivity. Most of the Germans saw

clearly that any sabotage of the war effort at the beginning of hostilities would be futile and suicidal for the socialist party; the strength of nationalism had been demonstrated in the Reichstag elections of 1907. In Haupt's presentation, the attitude of Jaurès and his followers seems more of an expression of fundamental radicalism than it really was, and the resistance of the Germans seems caused by deep-rooted hesitations, whereas in fact it was motivated primarily by tactical considerations. Thus the significance of the conflict is overrated.

Through a wealth of evidence Haupt shows the changes in the evaluation of the international situation made by the socialist leadership: at times the leaders became very fearful that war would break out immediately, but they soon fell back into a mood of optimism, assuming that the big powers wanted to avoid war in their own interest. This optimism prevailed especially in 1914, and its reasons are not easy to explain. Haupt mentions both Rudolf Hilferding's theory of the supercartel that would distribute the spoils of imperialism among the great powers without resort to war and Karl Kautsky's related suggestion of the possibility of "ultraimperialism," joint exploitation of the colonial world by the imperialist states. The book shows, as hardly anyone has done before, that these ideas had penetrated into the minds of many socialist leaders (see especially Jaurès's speech of December 1911, mentioned by Haupt on page 152, and Willem Vliegen's draft of a report to the Vienna Congress on page 160). But why was this line of thought so widely accepted just in the years before the holocaust? To be sure, the socialists were on solid ground when they argued that the capitalist governments had excellent reasons to avoid war, but why did they fail to see that both the mechanism of alliances and each government's fear of having to face an enemy coalition alone would paralyze the forces working against war in high circles?

Haupt brings up much material to answer this question, but he does not himself formulate a clear answer; and it may indeed be impossible at this late date to explore sufficiently the complex psychological situation among the socialists on the eve of the great catastrophe. Only guesses are possible: was the optimistic mood the result of wishful thinking? and was that wishful thinking produced by the feeling—superficially covered by boasting of the proletarian strength—that in the event of actual hostilities between great powers the socialists would be helpless and that therefore the avoidance of the great clash was utterly desirable not only in the interest of humanity in general but specifically as a matter of socialist self-preservation?

Haupt also discusses, but does not conclusively answer, the famous question of whether the social-

ist leaders, by supporting the war effort, betrayed the masses, or whether the masses, by turning to nationalism, deserted the leaders. Certainly in August 1914 the masses, with few exceptions, suddenly abandoned the fight against war. The main reason for this turnabout lies in the difference between the situation in the last days of peace and that after war had become a reality. As Jaurès said, "Having watched the storm clouds gather, the people . . . cannot act when they have been struck by lightning" (quoted on page 226). The questions of what defeat would mean for one's own country and what government repression, supported by the patriotic middle classes, would mean for the workers' movement had been removed from the level of theory to the level of stark reality. This change made the earlier positions of the masses as well as the leaders appear entirely futile.

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DIMITRI KITSIKIS. *Le rôle des experts à la Conférence de la Paix de 1919: Gestation d'une technocratie en politique internationale.* (Cahiers d'histoire de l'Université d'Ottawa, number 4.) Ottawa: Éditions de l'Université d'Ottawa. 1972. Pp. x, 227. \$4.50.

SIR JAMES HEADLAM-MORLEY. *A Memoir of the Paris Peace Conference, 1919.* Edited by AGNES HEADLAM-MORLEY et al. London: Methuen; distrib. by Barnes and Noble, New York. 1972. Pp. xlii, 230. \$15.50.

In a very real sense these two relatively brief volumes treat generally or specifically the same basic subject. They therefore belong together and may well be considered together. Professor Kitsikis sketches the role of the expert at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and he has written a perceptive account of the varied uses—or misuses—of experts, with stress on the American and British delegations, which made wide use of historians, geographers, political scientists, and economists. The United States made use, especially, of university professors and other specialists. Among many others, the names of James T. Shotwell, A. C. Coolidge, A. H. Lybyer, W. L. Westermann, Robert J. Kerner, Harold Nicolson, R. W. Seton-Watson, and Arnold J. Toynbee come to mind. Kitsikis states the proper function of the expert, whether at a great international conference or in a foreign ministry, noting that he should be "on tap, not on top." Formulation and development of foreign policy cannot be the sole prerogative of the so-called expert, however indispensable his work may be, since he is not politically responsible. As a recent publication of the Department of State has put the matter, foreign policy cannot be effective "if it reflects only the sporadic and esoteric initiatives of a small group of specialists. It must rest on a broad



national base and reflect a shared community of ideas."

Sir James Headlam-Morley, an expert par excellence, attended the Paris Peace Conference as assistant director of the Political Intelligence Division (PID) of the British Foreign Office, and later became historical adviser in the Foreign Office—interestingly enough—as David Hunter Miller, legal adviser on the American delegation, became historical adviser in the Department of State. Headlam-Morley played an active and leading role in many of the important and controversial territorial settlements, such as those involving the Saar Valley, Danzig, and the Polish frontiers. He was also primarily responsible for implementing the treaty provisions for the protection of Jews and other minorities in the new states in Eastern, Central, and Southeastern Europe. On the problem of Jewish minorities, Sir James once wrote to his fellow historian, Sir Lewis Bernstein Napier, that "although it was legitimate for the Zionists to seek national independence in Palestine it would be most dangerous for them to claim separate nationality within the states to which they owed citizenship" (p. xxix).

Sir James's daughter Agnes, formerly professor of international relations at Oxford University, has written a lengthy introduction to the volume, which includes extracts from the Headlam-Morley diaries, notes, memorandums, letters, and other items. These illuminate contemporary issues as seen by a member of the British delegation, who was also a well-trained, well-informed, and well-balanced historian. While the selections make for a somewhat disjointed volume, albeit brief, they also amply illustrate the positions adopted and the important role played by Headlam-Morley.

Both volumes fit into a growing library of materials dealing with the role of the specialist at international conferences. They may well be studied along with the works—the diaries and journals—of Shotwell, Nicolson, and others.

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ANGEL VIÑAS. *La Alemania nazi y el 18 de julio: Antecedentes de la intervención alemana en la guerra civil española*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial. 1974. Pp. 558.

This is a carefully researched study of the relationship between Spain and Nazi Germany in the critical period prior to the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. Its author made excellent use of his assignment as a commercial attaché in West Germany to mine archival sources there. His painstaking search for elusive details makes his study almost a definitive treatment of the subject.

Viñas points out that the roots of Germany's

relationship with Franco's Spain go back into the 1920s. In that period the future Admiral Canaris played a significant role in initiating contacts between the German and Spanish military establishments. German undercover agents were placed in Spain; German aviation firms were active there; and a German-type submarine was built in Spain only to be sold to Turkey. In 1928 Franco visited several German military installations. But the coming of the Spanish republic brought a decline of Spanish-German relationships. The advent of Hitler brought no immediate renaissance. Spain was not a significant facet of Hitler's plans. Inertia on both sides stymied efforts for military and police cooperation. Although Spanish exportation of iron to Germany increased, the change was small in comparison to France's quadrupling of her iron exports to Nazi Germany, and Spanish ore was less valuable than Swedish. Spanish pyrites were more significant, but the critical stage of German concern for these was reached just as the Civil War began.

Viñas not only discredits the common legend of German intervention in Spain for the sake of raw materials but also underscores the minimal extent of German investments and the minuscule size of the Nazi party in Spain. The decision for intervention was a personal one on the part of Hitler. Admiral Canaris, active in earlier and later periods of German-Spanish military cooperation, was not involved in the decisive conferences. Franco's emissaries were members of a tiny group of thirty-one Nazis in Spanish Morocco. Their meeting with Hitler was arranged by Rudolf Hess contrary to the judgment of the German foreign office and military leaders. Hitler's most significant motives were strategic. His initial aid to Franco was more than requested, but neither he nor Franco anticipated the long and stubborn conflict that followed.

Viñas's study revises in detail previous accounts of Hitler's intervention in Spain. An English-language edition would be valuable. Meanwhile, Viñas's further work in Spanish-German relations during the remainder of the Civil War will be eagerly awaited.

EARL R. BECK  
Florida State University

BRIAN BOND. *France and Belgium 1939-1940*. (The Politics and Strategy of the Second World War.) London: Davis-Poynter. 1975. Pp. 206. £3.75.

A balanced assessment of Anglo-French politics and military strategy and the decisive role of Belgian neutrality between 1936 and 1940 has been achieved by this young British historian. The volumes of literature that previously focused on the misconceptions and miscalculations of Paris and

London and on the "limited liability" brand of Belgian foreign policy have never quite pieced together the elements of Western friction, resentment, and disorder that characterized those tragic months and days up to the Dunkirk debacle. Bond, in a short, clear, and precise fashion, has examined the background and conduct of the confused May campaign, illuminating those old enmities and suspicions. He aptly breaks down the elements behind the dilemma of the international status of Belgium. The often misrepresented part that Belgium had in the short series of battles is thoroughly revised, for Bond's verdict is positive on that army, yet negative on the French. Concerning the actions of the king of the Belgians, the author—without considering some major scholarly treatments like those by E. R. Arange—finds his military judgments "honourable and sound," but his political decisions lacking in "wisdom."

The depiction of the nadir of Anglo-French military relations in the nine months before May is one of an alliance "disintegrating beyond repair." Numerous telling examples of lost confidence and insular arrogance in London and faulty accusations and inept leadership in Paris fill this work. This third publication in the series, *The Politics and Strategy of the Second World War*, makes answers on the key questions about the debilitated Belgian-French-British triangular relationship more possible and convincing, primarily through the use of virtually new private papers of Lord Gort, Sir Roger Keyes, and H. R. Pownall. Those who have argued that military defeat—and the absence of prior joint planning and coordination—was the central facet in the collapse of the Continent to nazism will find more abundant and detailed evidence here. In sum, a profitable piece of historical research, inquiry, and reflection for all to read.

PIERRE-HENRI LAURENT  
Tufts University

HENRI MICHEL. *The Shadow War: European Resistance 1939-1945*. Translated from the French by RICHARD BARRY. New York: Harper and Row. 1972. Pp. 416. \$8.50.

MILTON DANK. *The French against the French: Collaboration and Resistance*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1974. Pp. 365. \$12.50.

The absence of any good general survey in English of the European resistance to German occupation during World War II has been astonishing. That lack offers indirect confirmation of Henri Michel's reproach in *The Shadow War* that the Anglo-Saxon powers first underestimated and then distrusted resistance movements on the Continent. It is probably no accident that global assessments of the

resistance experience have been something of a Gaullist and Communist preserve.

Even in those quarters, general surveys have been a rarity. Despite the flood of particular works (Michel's *Bibliographie critique de la résistance* [1964] examines some twelve hundred titles for France alone), scholarly synthesis in any language was limited until now to Michel's brief earlier *Les Mouvements clandestins en Europe, 1938-45* (1961), Heinz Kühnrich's strictly party-line *Der Partisanenkrieg in Europa, 1939-45* (1968), and the collective Soviet-East German *Die Wölker in Widerstandskampf* (1961).

The subject has more pitfalls than most, after all. The scholarly history of clandestine activities is almost a contradiction in terms. Even at their most authentic and most moving, the survivors' adventure tales inevitably distort an activity that consisted more of countless small tasks than of spectacular exploits. The necessity to work without knowing the assignments or even the names of one's fellows produced rival claims to the same deed. And the primacy of nationalist motives and the bewildering range of local experience tend to break the subject down by countries, as in the now-classic conference reports, *European Resistance Movements, 1939-45* (1960, 1963).

This welcome translation of *The Shadow War* now offers English readers a judicious, relatively dispassionate, thoroughly informed, and genuinely comparative examination of the motives, components, and achievements of the resistance throughout Europe. Though written for a French audience—Michel has presided since 1954 over the semiofficial French Comité d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale and since 1970 over the International Committee for the History of the Second World War—the book takes a global perspective without excessive weight given to French examples.

Michel has organized his work topically. Unanecdotal almost to a fault, he takes the view that such mundane tasks as supply and false papers—on which there are fascinating details—were more central than daring acts. He has no illusions about the hesitant beginnings of resistance and accepts the prevailing non-Communist view of the official neutrality of the party until June 1941. Finding class and ideology somewhat inconclusive as explanations for joining the resistance, he suggests that most participants were already outsiders of one sort or another.

The crucial issues are the military impact and the postwar influence of the resistance. Michel argues that the European resistance had operational military effect only in cooperation with regular armies. Intelligence made a greater contribution, though even the most brilliant intelligence



achievement, the capture of an intact V-1 rocket by the Polish underground, did not spare London the buzz bombs. Everything depended on the Allies. Michel judges them harshly for their failure to use resistance potential more fully. He finds the Americans, in particular, too ignorant of Europe and too incoherent in their postwar planning to do more than waste the opportunities offered them. By the same token, whether or not resistance led to a change of regime upon liberation depended mostly upon Allied policies in Eastern and Western Europe. In the end the most important contribution was a moral and political legacy to postwar Europe. Even those who do not agree on every point will find this work the standard general survey.

Milton Dank, by contrast, has almost nothing to offer a scholarly reader. He is altogether absorbed by anecdote, and while he writes with good effect and with relatively few errors of fact, he shows little interest in general explanation. To take only one concrete example, he shows that in 1944 France underwent "a civil war . . . in numbers one of the most terrible in its history" by describing several of the more celebrated killings. He makes no attempt to assess the extent of disorder at the liberation, even though Peter Novick has already brought the controversy over the number killed under control in his *The Resistance vs. Vichy* (1968).

ROBERT O. PAXTON  
Columbia University

MARGARET SPUFFORD. *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974. Pp. xxiii, 374. \$23.50.

This study depicts a section of rural England experiencing a succession of cultural and economic crises during the crucial centuries of the Reformation and Civil War. The book is the product of a decade of local research in Cambridgeshire records. Scraps of information from a large range of documentary sources are skillfully pieced together to illuminate the agrarian, educational, and religious history of three selected communities. Spufford has packed a mass of detail into her study, making most of it clearly accessible through graphs, maps, and tables. The book has a welcome freshness. One feels that it is much more the product of time spent in the archives than in the library.

Even within the small compass of one English county there was considerable diversity of occupation, farming activity, social structure, educational opportunity, and religion. Our overall generalizations about rural England or even seventeenth-century East Anglia need qualification or amendment in the light of local studies like this.

One of the crucial elements in this diversity was the structure of the land itself. The extraordinary variegation of the English landscape—with chalk outcropping a few miles from clay and fenland a little further on—produced a concomitant variety and patchwork of soil types, each requiring a particular type of husbandry. Different farming practices—for example, having more or fewer workers on larger or smaller farms generating greater or lesser wealth—were responsible for certain variations in social organization. This may explain why some districts were better suited to weather the economic strains of the seventeenth century than others. The fenland, for example, was able to support a class of small landowners long after they had been squeezed out in the nearby chalk and clay uplands.

Of course, Spufford is too subtle a historian to fall prey to simple geological determinism. Her insights into the similarity and differences in the lives of her three chosen villages are fully supported by the evidence; and when she has doubts she says so. The major criticism of the book is its apparent lack of theoretical direction. A series of important research problems are tackled with grace and vigor, but we are given little guidance on how to harness this material for our other concerns in the period. Mrs. Spufford has described her method as "serendipity," a state not to be despised. She draws intelligently on the work of English demographic and social historians and has now earned a position of esteem among them.

DAVID CRESSY  
Pitzer College

DAVID G. HEY. *An English Rural Community: Myddle under the Tudors and Stuarts*. Leicester: Leicester University Press; distrib. by Humanities-Hillary House, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1974. Pp. 260. \$17.50.

A brilliant teacher I know tells students that the key to writing excellent history is to ask important questions. He enjoys warning them that not all questions are equally important, particularly relishing the tale of the unfortunate student who began a term paper with the question: "Queen Elizabeth was born in 1533; what happened next?" Hey's book, though a fine example of historical craftsmanship, suffers because it lacks an important question.

From a wide variety of sources, Hey re-creates the geographic and economic base of Myddle parish and speculates intelligently about its social and cultural atmosphere. He handles the sources meticulously. In analyzing patterns of land transfer and population he weighs all available evidence to arrive at impeccable conclusions. His distinctions

between various types of freeholders and renters are models of how sophisticated historians treat class and status. The use of inventories demonstrates how much information skilled professionals can extract from seemingly unrewarding sources. Anyone who wishes to write local history could learn much of the craft from Hey's lucid and honest account.

There is, however, a tone of antiquarianism. Often, reading the endlessly detailed histories of families or parcels of land, one asks why we need to know all this. Even if Hey needed these details to make his generalizations, he should have placed them in appendixes, summing up their significance in a few paragraphs.

Hey grants some nods to sociology, but had he considered the other social sciences, particularly anthropology, he might have developed a stronger sense of why his study mattered. The fascination of seventeenth-century English rural life is that it is a society on some levels almost as sophisticated as ours and on others as traditional as the most undeveloped economies. Exploring the tensions between those levels, as, for example, Keith Thomas did in *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971) yields vital insights about traditionalism and modernity. But why else is a small parish in seventeenth-century England of interest today? Hey should have considered this problem more carefully before embarking upon his research.

CAROL Z. WIENER  
Texas Southern University

ELLIOT ROSE. *Cases of Conscience: Alternatives Open to Recusants and Puritans under Elizabeth I and James I*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1975. Pp. viii, 266. \$21.00.

Elliot Rose has addressed himself to one of the most intricate and difficult problems in the Elizabethan-early Stuart milieu—"the moral issue of principled civil disobedience" (p. 2). Rose recognizes that religious questions were the central concern of the age and were not mere masks for political and economic ambition; therefore, civil disobedience would be found among religious dissidents to the Anglican Church.

In a sound, carefully reasoned, solid examination of both Catholic and Puritan elements, Rose purposefully ignores martyrs and prophets to focus his attention upon "those members of either group who were law abiding by inclination and who hoped to stay out of trouble so far as their principles would let them" (p. 1). This problem of conscientious objection, then as now, provided a multitude of possibilities between full compliance and full defiance, and Rose has attempted valiantly to ferret out this myriad array, to dissect, analyze, delineate, and suggest by inference posi-

tions and answers. The author is honest in admitting that the questions he asks are nearly impossible to answer, except "impressionistically" (pp. 4, 5, 55). He admits that objective, statistical evidence can never have existed—for example, in relation to the poor recusant. Even where a statistical approach is feasible, Rose rejects this as a method of no interest to him. He has focused, rather, upon selective use of tracts and casuistic writings of the period for their teachings on resistance and evasion of the law. This is the real value of his work, as well as its major drawback, for a few sources must suffice as a sampling of the great pamphlet literature that emanated from this moral question in the early seventeenth century. However, Rose has brought clarity, logic, careful research, scholarly acumen, and a deeply thoughtful critical attitude to his study of the documents on moral theology, such as William Perkins's *Whole Treatise of the Cases of Conscience* (1608) (pp. 185-94). It is a pioneer effort and one that is immensely valuable in what it does achieve. But one might wish that Rose had attempted less and elucidated with more specific materials and examples actual provable effects on the groups being examined, either the recusant Catholics or Puritans. In his excellent chapter on comparisons and conclusions he admits that there are few similarities in approach and purpose between the two groups; therefore, their coupled examination in this monograph seems strained, somewhat confusing, and not as helpful as a more thorough concentration on one group would have been.

Professor Rose indicates a solid familiarity with the primary and secondary materials that substantiate his work, although he is admittedly at his best in materials and bibliography dealing with the recusant and Church papists. While the overall organization and method are satisfactory, the rather bewildering minutiae of internal problems and logic do not produce easy answers or provide bedtime reading—but then neither does the whole question of cases of conscience. This is a work that requires Rose, trained in the school of Sir John Neale, Elton, and Hurstfield, to be at once historian, moral theologian, and lawyer. He has succeeded admirably in handling this three-hatted role with caution, judiciousness, and humility. This is a stimulating, important addition to recusant-Puritan historiography, but it is not a work for a novice in the field.

SISTER JOSEPH DAMIEN HANLON  
St. Joseph's College,  
Brooklyn, New York

F. M. L. THOMPSON. *Hampstead: Building a Borough, 1650-1964*. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. xi, 459. \$25.00.

F. M. L. Thompson explains how Hampstead developed as a middle-class residential district, with a detailed analysis of its land tenures and the housing market in metropolitan London during the nineteenth century. Fortunately for both Hampstead and its historian, a few large estates dominated landownership, notably those of the dean and chapter of Westminster, Eton College, and the Maryon Wilson family. This discouraged piecemeal, premature building and encouraged the preservation of records.

Thompson challenges the traditional story that Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson had planned to exploit his powers as lord of the manor to cover Hampstead Heath with houses. The local gentry who led the fight against him deliberately confused the legal status of the ancient common with that of the adjoining undeveloped land that added beauty to it. In 1871 the Metropolitan Board of Works purchased the manorial rights. More important, in 1889 it bought the adjacent freehold estates of the Maryon Wilson family and Lord Mansfield.

Thompson has written a model monograph in urban economic history. His book is concerned with landowners, estate agents, and builders and with topography, estate boundaries, and finance. He shows an eye for the pungent quotation and the revealing statistic. For instance, in 1901 Hampstead was "the best-servanted borough in London" but, true to its middle-class status, had few butlers. Among his cautious generalizations he establishes that the market for middle-class housing suffered from chronic surplus. Expensive housing profited builders but offered landowners financial advantage only when the characteristic ninety-nine-year leases expired. Thompson minimizes the importance of the railroad in encouraging suburban building. In the largely routine chapter that summarizes the public life of Hampstead, he credits the Anglican churches for what community feeling existed. He allots twentieth-century Hampstead only a few pages.

DAVID M. FAHEY  
Miami University

JEANNETTE BLACK, editor. *The Blathwayt Atlas*. Volume 1, *The Maps*; volume 2, *Commentary*. Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press. 1970; 1975. 48 facsimiles; pp. xx, 244. \$500.00; \$25.00.

The Blathwayt atlas consists of thirteen manuscript and thirty-five printed maps, mostly of Britain's colonial possessions in America, dating from about 1651 to 1683. They were in use in the office of the Lords of Trade and Plantation, the committee of the Privy Council charged by Charles II with the duty of advising him on colonial affairs. The atlas survived in the library of the sometime secretary of the committee, William Blathwayt, at Dyr-

ham Park in Gloucestershire. The volume was acquired by the John Carter Brown Library in 1911. The story of Blathwayt, who entered on his administrative duties in 1675 under Sir Robert Southwell, clerk of the Privy Council, has been told by Gertrude Jacobsen, in her *William Blathwayt: A Late Seventeenth Century English Administrator* (1932). Blathwayt was a nephew of Thomas Povey, a powerful if shadowy figure in colonial affairs, whose incompetence and maladministration outraged Samuel Pepys and Governor William Berkeley of Virginia alike. The "List of Maps, as they ly bound in this Book," is written in the hand of John Povey, Blathwayt's cousin and clerk. Because the Blathwayt atlas "is apparently the only part of the map collection used by the Lords of Trade that has remained substantially intact as a unit," it was decided to reprint the entire atlas rather than merely a selection of the more important maps. The scholar will welcome this decision, though it has meant that the price of the volume soars far beyond the reach of most individual scholars.

The quality of the reproductions—all full size and many in color—reflect the high standards of the Meriden Gravure Company under its president, Harold Hugo. Of great bibliographical interest is the fact that the atlas may well be the last example of collotype printing in the United States, since that form of reproduction, which many believe provides better quality reproduction than other methods, is gradually giving way to other techniques. The only man at Meriden Gravure expert in the process retired as the book was in production. The manuscript maps, handsomely reproduced by multicolor lithography in all their vibrant colors, will be of greatest interest to students, but the engraved maps possess special interest also.

Volume 2, the *Commentary*, by Jeannette D. Black, curator of maps at the John Carter Brown Library, is a model of cartographic analysis. Black's contribution is primarily her gloss on the origin and state of the individual maps. Her major contribution has been the identification of what she has called the "Thames School," a group of map makers living in the Thames area near the Tower of London and the hamlets to the east of it, whose names or style are evident in most of the manuscript maps contained in Blathwayt's atlas. Black has approached her task with diffidence and even doubt. Initially she decided that research on the individual maps should be limited to published sources, and she still modestly asserts that the commentaries are presented "as points of departure for further study" (2: xvi). But her commentary is laced with references to the manuscript sources, and I doubt very much whether others will push far beyond the limits she has set. Black's indebtedness to the late R. A. Skelton and

to the former director of the John Carter Brown Library, Lawrence C. Wroth, is frequently acknowledged, but the work stands firmly on her own scholarship.

The maps of the Blathwayt atlas do not throw startling light on colonial administration, or maladministration, but they do show us, better than we have ever known before, the geographical understanding held by the administrators of the colonies in this crucial period of English life. Black in a short introduction provides evidence of how and when many of the maps were acquired and used. Sometimes Blathwayt bought printed maps in Europe for inclusion in the atlas used by the committee. Sometimes manuscript maps were commissioned by the committee. The plantations were assuming, as Sir William Berkeley then, and Benjamin Franklin later, warned, a new dimension of importance. English administrators sought to keep abreast of their importance and location, but neither the maps, nor the impressive customs revenues, nor the urgent pleas of colonial governors could elevate colonial affairs in the minds of the king's advisers to a position equal in importance with domestic affairs. The Blathwayt atlas is a reminder of this failure in English administration, and it is an important reminder for scholars of the period to absorb.

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN  
*Smithsonian Institution*

FRANK E. MANUEL. *The Religion of Isaac Newton*. (The Fremantle Lectures 1973.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. vi, 141. \$11.25.

The case of Isaac Newton ought to be a favorite in the popular "nothing in history is as it seems" sweepstakes. For starters, the standard general account—familiar ever since Voltaire, who probably started it—presents the great scientist as a pioneer of a new intellectual era, who destroyed ancient error by bold original thinking, and who went far to dethrone the old religious outlook by introducing a mechanistic deism, if not a godless materialism. Julian Huxley thought that "Newton's great generalization of gravitational attraction made it possible and indeed necessary to dispense with the idea of God guiding the stars in their courses." The truth is that Newton believed that "he was part of an ancient tradition, a rediscoverer rather than an innovator." He was, of course, a devout Christian who intended all his scientific work as a deciphering of the Divine message and spent far more time on the Biblical prophecies than he did on the law of universal gravitation. He believed the former researches to be as "scientific" as the latter. The universe in

which he continued to believe was a thoroughly medieval one, peopled with angels and a plenum.

Ignorance about this can be excused because the great bulk of Newton's work on religious questions was unpublished and virtually unknown until comparatively recent times. It is to be suspected that the Enlightenment and the nineteenth-century age of Positivism did not want to know about these works. To explain what they did know, they invented the theory that in his later years Newton suffered from a softening of the brain. The history of this very large body of writing, the equivalent of ten or fifteen standard-size books, is too complicated to tell here, but the manuscripts have finally come together again in Jerusalem, which seems a logical place.

Frank Manuel has previously explored this side of the great mathematician and scientist in his *Isaac Newton, Historian* (1961) and *A Portrait of Newton* (1968). The present series of lectures delivered at Balliol College in 1973 enlarges upon this interest. It is presumptuous for anyone to quarrel with such distinguished scholarship, but in fact the book for all its delights—from a historian who is not only a master scholar but a witty and able writer—has its disappointing features. Manuel pursues, rather languidly, a dubious Freudian interpretation that would have Newton finding in God a surrogate father. Though he says he seeks historical context, one misses a feeling both for the particular situation of English Protestantism in the later seventeenth century—which was suspicious both of papalism and enthusiasm yet clung to Christianity as a principle of social order and sought to establish it on "rational" grounds—and for the large contemporary literature on the Trinity, the prophecies, the miracles, and deism, which surrounded Newton. A greater feeling for this context would, for example, have dissolved Manuel's surprise at Newton not supporting William Whiston (p. 62). On the other hand, the philosophical issues are well handled, there being a good exposition of Newton's debate with Leibniz and some stimulating discussions of Newton and Platonism. This short book is not a complete handling of the manifold issues raised; I hope that Professor Manuel will go on to provide this in a future book. If he does not, those who come after him, in a field that, one suspects, will attract a good deal of future attention, will have to lean heavily on his work.

ROLAND STROMBERG  
*University of Wisconsin—  
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P. D. G. THOMAS. *British Politics and the Stamp Act Crisis: The First Phase of the American Revolution, 1763–1767*. New York: Clarendon Press of the Oxford University Press. 1975. Pp. 394. \$25.75.



P. D. G. Thomas as a historian in the tradition established by the late Sir Lewis Namier is concerned with the eighteenth-century House of Commons. In this volume he has applied a considerable acquaintance with the sources—many of which are unfamiliar—to the political history of the Stamp Act crisis. Readers previously unacquainted with the enormously complex parties and factions at Westminster during the period may not find the introductory chapters easy reading. But *British Politics* describes—often revising earlier interpretations—the motivation, passage, repeal, and aftermath of the Stamp Act and should be carefully studied by all interested in the causes of the Revolution. Thomas stresses the rapidly growing unanimity in British opinion. By 1767 there was a consensus about parliamentary sovereignty, about the desirability of exercising it over the colonies, and about obtaining from the colonists further assistance in defraying civil and military expenses. The less control enjoyed by local assemblies—often seemingly capricious and unreliable—over financial affairs the better. Imperial policy developed in a direction entirely contrary to American political ideology.

Once the Declaratory Act had passed, the distinction between external and internal taxation could be regarded as illegal, though Charles Townshend bore the old arguments in mind when imposing new duties. To these arguments none of the Rockingham Whigs offered any effective opposition. Merchants, who had supported repeal as a means to recover returns from trade, quickly lost any sympathy with the colonies as those returns continued to decline. This attitude, Thomas remarks, markedly precedes the indifference to American affairs, so often attributed to the opening of markets elsewhere. British ministers failed to appreciate that the postwar depression in America was responsible both for this diminished trade and for part of the colonial reluctance to shoulder further financial responsibilities.

Few reported speeches and unpublished letters reveal any significant divergence from the consensus. William Pitt, earl of Chatham, to be sure, recognized the principle of no taxation without representation and would have welcomed, like George Grenville and Thomas Pownall, an acceptable plan for colonial participation in an imperial legislature. Supposed sympathizers with America did little to obtain repeal or modification of the tea tax in 1770. Among would-be conciliators, none denied the supremacy of the British Parliament. "The lesson of the Stamp Act Crisis," Thomas concludes, "was that there would be very few friends of America in Britain in any future clash with the colonies" (p. 371).

CAROLINE ROBBINS  
Rosemont, Pennsylvania

PATRICIA HOLLIS, editor. *Pressure from Without in Early Victorian England*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. ix, 334. \$19.95.

Before 1832 voluntary organizations agitating for moral and social reforms through legislation were denounced for seeking to intimidate the elected authorities in Parliament. By 1867, however, "pressure from without" had been legitimized, providing a channel for the expression of public opinion and contributing to the emergence of participatory democracy in Victorian England. For those middle-class elements increasingly conscious of the disparity between political rights and effective power the pressure group became the means by which their views could be collectively articulated. In addition these organizations served as instruments for co-opting working men into the mainstream of Victorian politics, thereby softening social tensions that might have proved disruptive.

Instead of attempting a systematic treatment of pressure group politics, this useful collection of essays by a dozen British historians moves selectively over a broad spectrum of activity. It examines such diverse topics as those movements involving suffrage, dissent, and land reform, specific bodies like the Liberation Society and the Administrative Reform Association, and a handful of the more prominent leaders, among them Edward Baines, William Lovett, and David Urquhart. Since many of the notable participants—Joseph Sturge, Samuel Morley, and John Arthur Roebuck, for example—figured in several causes, there is some inevitable overlap, but this does not detract from the quality of the book. While in no way definitive as individual studies, these essays are nonetheless carefully researched and based to a considerable extent on unpublished correspondence and society minutes. If the biographical chapters rarely supersede the standard works, those that deal with specific organizations shed a good deal of light on the structure, tactics, ideology, and social composition of pressure groups, and thus furnish the reader with material for comparative analysis.

Aside from similarities in institutional structure and propaganda techniques, what is perhaps most striking about Victorian pressure groups is their reliance on moral exhortation—the concerted effort to transcend class interest by appealing to the conscience of their audience in a quasi-religious crusade. Not only was this true, as Howard Temperley demonstrates, of the antislavery movement, but also of the Liberation Society, the land-tenure reformers, and the various advocates of moral reform like the Lord's Day Observance Society and the RSPCA, whose operations Brian Harrison describes so ably. Moral righteousness, which Richard Shannon attributes to Urquhart and which was equally characteristic of Baines or Shaftes-

bury, was frequently coupled with an attack on aristocratic privilege—an essential feature of the suffrage movement, the Anti-Corn Law League, and the Administrative Reform Association. Many of these groups exploited the middle-class frustration at being excluded from power, particularly in provincial towns, where the proliferation of local branches offered opportunities for participation. Although the leadership tended to be drawn from middle-class Nonconformists with a sprinkling of benevolent aristocrats, the emphasis on improvement and on the need for an enlightened public struck chords within the artisan class, of whom Lovett stands as an example. Far from seeking to stir up the masses, men like Edward Miall or Richard Cobden tried to mobilize working-class support for middle-class purposes; working-class deference was presumed in the hierarchical structure of most societies.

If measured in terms of realized objectives, the history of Victorian pressure groups is one of negligible success. There is little evidence that they had significant impact on parliamentary opinion, or that reforming legislation owed much to their endeavors. The moral absolutism that characterized their propaganda disdained the exigencies of politics and the need to compromise. Several organizations, notably the Administrative Reform Association and the Foreign Affairs Committees, found it difficult to translate a general critique into specific measures; others were essentially single-issue movements, unable to sustain a high level of support once the precipitating circumstances of the agitation had either passed or been appeased by legislative amelioration. Above all, as William Thomas remarks in his chapter on the Philosophic Radicals, they were "amateurs in politics," well-intentioned, egoistical zealots who were no match for the professional politicians and administrative experts. Indeed their preoccupation with voluntary effort, education, and moral suasion, reflected a hostility toward centralized authority and a reluctance to sanction state intervention that suggests a profound distrust of collectivism.

If pressure from without had a role to play it was not in influencing legislation but in widening the political community to include newly articulate elements. It acted, as Olive Anderson concludes in a perceptive essay, as "a school for citizenship in an increasingly plural society. It was thus not the extent to which pressure group activity achieved its goals which made it important, but rather the activity itself" (p. 287). In recognizing both the shortcomings and the accomplishments of nineteenth-century pressure groups and their leaders, this collection makes a substantial contribution to the study of early Victorian social history.

F. M. LEVENTHAL  
Boston University

D. W. SYLVESTER. *Robert Lowe and Education*. (Cambridge Texts and Studies in the History of Education.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. 240. \$13.50.

PAMELA SILVER and HAROLD SILVER. *The Education of the Poor: The History of a National School, 1824-1974*. (Routledge Library in the History of Education.) Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 1974. Pp. x, 197. \$12.25.

Brilliant, arrogant, and cold, Robert Lowe has had, on the whole, a bad historical press. He has suffered most of all from historians of education. In 1862, as vice-president of the Committee of Council on Education, he imposed the Revised Code on the jumble of English primary schools. By tying state aid (and teachers' salaries) to the outcome of examinations in the rudiments—"payment by results"—Lowe, so the story runs, cut short the creative experiment of the preceding two decades, emphasized the three R's to the exclusion of all else, turned teachers into mere drillmasters and interrupted their growth as a profession, and made plain the elitist, class-bound bias of the age, for which he was so frank an advocate.

In an important book, Mr. Sylvester has set out to redress the balance at last. It is troubling that at this late date, Sylvester must still hammer away at the Whig interpretation of history and at the illegitimacy of applying twentieth-century expectations to nineteenth-century performance; but his footnotes testify to the persistence of the tradition he seeks to qualify, a tradition that in the present climate of educational polemics in England is still more likely to be listened to than is this clear and judicious revision. On the Revised Code, Sylvester plays down the accomplishments of the early years of "national education" and points to the improvement in literacy that probably flowed from Lowe's initiative. He also unearths precedents on which Lowe built and stresses, rightly, the sovereign expectations of economy and efficiency, championed in season and out by Gladstone. Sylvester notes on several occasions the partnership, in the Committee of Council and later at the Treasury, of Lowe and Ralph Lingen but does not set out so clearly another imperative which I think is suggested in that collaboration—the necessity of reducing a relatively loose educational establishment to bureaucratic order. It is startling to find Lowe willing, five years later, to overthrow his creation as his successors in office had extended it; it is more important that attention is drawn to Lowe's creative role in establishing the dual system of voluntary and provided schools, which has descended from Forster's Act of 1870; to Lowe's corrosive, utilitarian, modernist criticism of secondary and university education; and to his advocacy of curriculum reform. One can wish, though scarcely



hope, that the need for economy these days (on either side of the Atlantic) might turn up an educational statesman of comparable intellect and radical common sense.

Thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Silver we can glimpse the difficulties into which the new examinations plunged the teachers at the Kennington Oval Schools in South London in 1863-64. Yet the policy of 1862 does not appear in the long run to be a watershed in the sense that we are likely to think of it; rather the schools emerged slowly from their monitorial origins through changing methods and a succession of able and devoted teachers to impressive accomplishments—as measured by grammar school scholarships won—in the late Victorian years. The biography of any small institution like these schools is filled with the ordinary—prizes, entertainments, drainage problems, fund raising—and anyone who has worked through similar records will know how frustrating are the anonymity that shrouds so many of the actors and the reticence that overtakes the minutes at just the point when something awkward seems to be happening. But the Silvers have done an admirable job in reconstructing the life of a school that has served a relatively disadvantaged group of children for a century and a half.

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PHILIP N. BACKSTROM. *Christian Socialism and Co-operation in Victorian England: Edward Vansittart Neale and the Co-operative Movement*. (Croom Helm Social History Series.) London: Croom Helm; distrib. by Rowman and Littlefield, Totowa, N.J. 1975. Pp. vii, 238. \$16.00.

The subtitle of this exercise in revisionist rehabilitation should be its title, because so much of the book concentrates on the busy and largely futile activities of E. V. Neale in the cooperative movement. The Christian Socialists make fleeting appearances and Neale's own Christianity becomes a sort of theistic activism. Neale's chief enemy was the Co-operative Wholesale Society, a meretricious octopus within the movement that was excessively devoted to dividends. His biographer's chief antagonist is Beatrice Webb, who wrote off the general secretary of the British Co-operative Union as an impractical idealist.

Neale's character in itself obstructs this zealous attempt to show him as a practical leader. Backstrom allows that Neale repeatedly misjudged people, was swindled in private transactions, could not deal wisely with his own money, and was mercurial in making decisions. Moreover, Neale wrote lengthy, turgid, repetitious treatises and was often a wretched speaker. Before concentrating on

cooperation as his career, he was an undistinguished student, mediocre barrister, and unhappy husband.

Considering all of his disadvantages, why was he so prominent in the movement? That he was a most generous angel, willing to strip his family fortunes to support cooperative projects, was of no small importance. Neale's nostalgic communitarian philosophy about cooperation may have been attractive to some. It stressed profit sharing and was based upon a strange amalgam of Christian and German idealism, French utopian socialism, a dislike of competition, and political conservatism.

Backstrom wishes us to see Neale as a behind-the-scenes "organizational genius" who was too altruistic to seek applause for his efforts, which centered around a losing battle to save the idealism and some participatory aspects of the cooperative movement from its own bureaucrats. Yet we are informed of how this "genius of constructiveness" presided over one failing scheme after another, including those for cooperative production, banking, home building, friendly societies, and international trading.

The author must be congratulated for plowing through heaps of what must be among the dullest of historical records. Nevertheless, Neale's personal journals do add a note of color, and the author's own writing, given the limitations of the subject, is clear throughout and even lively in a few places.

Backstrom blames Beatrice Webb's "haphazard and opinionated" book, *The Cooperative Movement in Great Britain* (1904), for "permanently branding" Neale and his coworkers as impractical and for "assigning many of their most valuable contributions to historical oblivion." While Backstrom's study has rescued some of them from oblivion, signs of the brand still seem to remain.

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KENNETH O. MORGAN. *Keir Hardie: Radical and Socialist*. (Radical Men, Movements and Ideas.) London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 1975. Pp. xii, 343. £8.00.

A biographer must answer two questions: What sort of man was his subject, and why was he important? This biography sets out to separate Keir Hardie the man from the legend, in effect to put together a true portrait of an intensely political individual who can be distinguished from the Labour saint, "The Man in the Cloth Cap." As everyone who has read Morgan's *Wales and British Politics* (1970) can testify, he is a first-rate researcher—although he ought to know that "South Bend College" in Muncie, Indiana, does not hold

the Norman Angell Papers and would be unable to answer his letters. He has produced a well-documented portrait of the self-educated, emotional, inconsistent but politically shrewd Lanarkshire miner who stands in legend, if not quite in actual fact, as Morgan demonstrates, as the founder of the Independent Labour party and the first independent working man in the House of Commons.

But what did Hardie accomplish? Why is he regarded as one of the founders of the Labour party and, for Morgan, a more influential, not to mention attractive, figure than Ramsay MacDonald? Here the book is disappointing. Hardie's influence is pervasive but indefinable. He was a failure during his short tenure as leader of the Labour party, yet his tremendous hold on the Edwardian working class, described but not accounted for, is undeniable. Morgan attempts to construct for him a coherent political theory but is forced to admit at the end that "his philosophy was imprecise and ill-formed . . . almost at times to the point of disintegration." It is easy to discover what Hardie opposed—nearly everything that any other politician did. It is much harder to find what he supported.

In the end, the reader is left where he began. What, after all, did Hardie leave behind? Perhaps his greatest achievement was indeed the creation of a legend upon which the Labour party could build. This, as is frequently the case, may have been more potent than reality.

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PAUL G. HALPERN, editor. *The Keyes Papers: Selections from the Private and Official Correspondence of Admiral of the Fleet Baron Keyes of Zeebrugge*. Volume 1, 1914–1918. (Publications of the Navy Records Society, volume 117.) [London:] the Society. 1972. Pp. xxiv, 547. £5.00.

Since 1894, the Navy Records Society has been producing volumes of unpublished letters and papers, journals, and biographies pertaining to the Royal Navy since Tudor times. The latest volume (not actually published until the end of 1974), the 117th in this on-the-whole distinguished series and the first of two on Admiral Keyes, is one of the stronger ones of recent years. The editor, Professor Halpern, of the Florida State University, is the author of the highly regarded *Mediterranean Naval Situation, 1908–1914* (1971).

My two criteria for judging a work of this kind are the breadth of and skill in the selection of material and the quality of the informational material, in footnotes and in introductions to the chapters or parts. By these standards Halpern has brought off his assignment with conspicuous suc-

cess. The footnotes are models of succinctness, and the introductions combine a narrative of Keyes's career in a particular period with perceptive observations. That introducing part 4 (October 1917–December 1918) is especially well done, as when Halpern observes: "It is ironic that Zeebrugge is the action most linked with Keyes's name, for perhaps the real achievement of his command at Dover was barring the Dover Straits to German submarines" (p. 415). The source material reproduced, 256 items, includes reports and memorandums but consists overwhelmingly of correspondence to and from Keyes. The great bulk of the material is from the Keyes Papers, now at Churchill College, Cambridge (all 125 cartons of them), with a few letters from the papers of Sir John Michael de Robeck, David Beatty, Horatio Herbert Kitchener, Sir Henry Jackson, Ian Hamilton, and Walter Cowan, and the Admiralty records in the Public Record Office. I am not aware of any important collection that Halpern failed to check. (It is a pity that Keyes's many letters to Sir Reginald Tyrwhitt no longer exist.) He had a selection problem, since Keyes's two autobiographical volumes on the war quoted extensively from his papers. "On the whole," writes Halpern, "I have tried to avoid publishing documents already printed. However, Keyes or his editors occasionally altered or cut a document, usually for clarity or brevity, and when these alterations were extensive the original is reproduced here" (p. vii).

There are no great surprises in the volume. Keyes comes through pretty much as we have known him: full of initiative and boyish enthusiasm, possessed of exceptional leadership talents, and eager for battle—but lacking an outstanding intellect. De Robeck, whose chief of staff Keyes was in 1915–16, summed up his dominant trait well: "The best and bravest fellow in the world and always for having a go." Keyes's sensitivity over matters of seniority is a facet of his character of which I was unaware. If the documents now published tell us little that is really new and important about the Dardanelles campaign, the Dover command in 1918, and the Zeebrugge operation, which represent the highlights of Keyes's war service, they do enhance our knowledge of these periods. Note, for example, Keyes's letter of July 2, 1915 (pp. 154–58), on the inanities of the army at Gallipoli.

Halpern has given us so much that it would be churlish to dwell on two minor imperfections, in places a not sufficiently vigorous use of pruning shears and a peculiar comma usage—or nonusage! Otherwise, nothing but the highest marks.

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ALDO BERSELLI. *L'opinione pubblica inglese e l'avvento del fascismo (1919-1925)*. (Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia.) [Milan:] Franco Angeli Editore. 1971. Pp. 225. L. 3,500.

In this contribution to the historiography of anti-fascist resistance, Aldo Berselli, the director of modern and contemporary history at the University of Bologna, widens the scope of research beyond consideration of fascism as a purely Italian national movement in the early twenties and resistance to it as a solely national affair. He examines some fifteen British newspapers and journals to discover if there was any understanding of what was happening in Italy during the first years of Mussolini's power and any thought of at least well-wishing, if not outright support, for anti-Fascist sentiment in Italy. He asks also if there were any parallels to political developments in the two countries and if politics in Great Britain in any way affected attitudes toward Mussolini.

The English were largely indifferent to Italian affairs until d'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume in September 1919 and the sit-in strikes of the late summer 1920, and they were almost wholly ignorant of Italian problems up to the march on Rome. Though the Fascist coup was a surprise, it stimulated greater interest in Italy, not only because of possible repercussions in international affairs but also because of its significance internally.

Reactions and attitudes followed British political lines. The conservative press accepted Mussolini's own statement that his was the anti-Bolshevik party of law and order. The Conservative victory at the polls on November 15, 1922, was equated with the Fascist success—the end of weak coalition governments and the rescue from bolshevism. The attitude of the Conservative government toward the Italian government reflected this sympathy. The leftist press was persistently and to some extent ideologically hostile. Between the two extremes there were serious critical expressions of curiosity and concern. However, whatever anyone thought of the Fascists, there was general agreement after the Corfu incident in 1923 that Mussolini had the support of the entire Italian nation.

Then, in 1924, when the Labour party was in power in Great Britain, the Italian elections of April 6 revealed that there was still active opposition in Italy from liberals and socialists. While British conservatives continued to defend Mussolini, liberals expressed hope that the Italian situation could be normalized, and labourites expressed interest in the possibility of socialist solidarity in Europe as it was being invoked by the Italian Socialist deputy, Matteotti. His murder exposed the true nature and fruits of fascism. Conservatives were concerned that good relations with

Italy might be jeopardized by the Labour government. Liberals thought the best that could be hoped for was that the reactions to the murder might have a temporizing effect on the regime. If there were any hopes that the liberal and socialist opposition in Italy could join forces against the Fascists, such hopes were dashed when the Socialists seceded from the Chamber of Deputies on June 15.

As Mussolini weathered the post-Matteotti storm and clamped down on opposition, new British elections on October 29 brought the Conservatives back to power. Berselli closes with this line. "The barometer indicated, then, fair weather for the conservatives; 'tranquility' was, then, assured in Italy as in England. Here, therefore, began the period of the 'golden years'" (p. 204). Berselli concludes with one sentence. "In the wider European panorama the 'trend' [he uses the English word] was not different" (p. 204). This closing observation may be valid but it is not substantiated by evidence presented in this study. Similar studies of press opinion about Mussolini in relation to political developments in other European countries have yet to be made.

Berselli appends to his work a succinct statement about ownership, political posture, editorial policy, and influence of each of the newspapers and journals he uses.

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ROGER PARKINSON. *Blood, Toil, Tears and Sweat: The War History from Dunkirk to Alamein, Based on the War Cabinet Papers of 1940 to 1942*. New York: David McKay Company. 1973. Pp. ix, 538. \$7.95.

CHARLES CRUICKSHANK. *The German Occupation of the Channel Islands*. Published for the Trustees of the Imperial War Museum. New York: Oxford University Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 370. \$21.00.

When the British government opened most of its records of World War II, there was a rush to the Public Record Office followed by a spate of quickly researched books. Roger Parkinson's trilogy, of which this is the second volume, was among these. After a strong start the series went rapidly downhill. The principal memoirs and diaries published since 1945 and the official histories provide the framework of the book. Into this Parkinson has fitted material from the records of the War Cabinet, the chiefs of staff, and their more important subcommittees. There is nothing from unpublished private papers. Where memoirists, diarists, official historians, and committee minutes are not very revealing, neither is Parkinson—his discussion of strategy in the Far East is the chief, but by no means the only, example of the inherent weakness of his approach. The result is a book that

has little for the specialist, although it is a good general introduction to the most crucial years of Britain's war effort.

Cruikshank's book is almost a reversed image of Parkinson's: a meticulous study of a small but fascinating corner of the war, utilizing all surviving official documents, British and German, as well as private papers and interviews. The British evacuated and demilitarized the Channel Islands, a relic of the British monarchy's Norman phase, during the cataclysmic events of June 1940, and the Germans arrived in early July. Seen at first as a staging post for the invasion of Great Britain, and, perhaps, as a testing ground for occupation policies there, the islands gradually became one of Hitler's obsessions. His only piece of conquered "British" soil, each island became a Gibraltar. Nearly ten per cent of the resources available for the Atlantic Wall was sunk into them, and a reinforced infantry division, together with substantial numbers of Luftwaffe and navy personnel, was tied up there for the duration. In strategic terms the loss of the Channel Islands to Hitler was net gain to the British. Cruikshank is fascinating on the almost inspired clumsiness of the German occupation administration, which was often its own worst enemy. Equally intriguing are his chapters on the few actual, and many abortive, raids on the islands hatched at Combined Operations Headquarters. The raids that occurred were remarkable for their lack of results. Reading about those that were cancelled makes Dieppe more comprehensible. Throughout, no one, from Churchill down, considered the probable consequences of the raids on the civilian population. There is a detailed account of the lives of those civilians during the occupation, marred only by a certain reticence about the extent of collaboration—active resistance, with two soldiers for every three civilians, was out of the question. This blemish, inevitable perhaps in a history sponsored by the Channel Islands, is nevertheless only a slight flaw in an otherwise model, and eminently readable, study.

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BRUCE WEBSTER. *Scotland from the Eleventh Century to 1603*. (The Sources of History: Studies in the Uses of Historical Evidence.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1975. Pp. 239. \$12.50.

This is an admirable survey of the sources available for the study of Scottish history before the union of the Crowns. Mr. Webster, who is known for, among other things, his contributions to the recent revisionist work on the reign of David II, devotes the bulk of this book to the period stretch-

ing from the end of the eleventh century, when written record in the form of charters becomes available, to the reign of James III. There are chapters, neither numerous nor reliable, on the narrative sources; on charters, with a careful explanation of what a charter is and what to look for when reading one; on the various sorts of government record, mostly having to do with money and land; on legal record, very thin before the later fifteenth century; and on various foreign sources, especially English and papal. There is also a welcome and unusual chapter on such unwritten evidence as topography, archeology, architecture, and place names. The final chapter deals with the sixteenth century, and in a way it is a pity that Webster had to write it. He does as good a job as he can in twenty-seven pages, but, as he himself points out, the whole nature of the source problem changes after about 1460. Government record proliferates, church record becomes extensive; there are notaries' protocol books, collections of public and private correspondence, burgh records, and so much judicial material from the court of session that no one has had the courage to tackle it. Furthermore, with respect to Scottish sources, the date 1603 means almost nothing. The only significant source that ends in 1603 is the correspondence of the English agents in Scotland; it is partially replaced by the letters, official and unofficial, that passed between Edinburgh and Whitehall.

Those responsible for planning this useful series would have done better to have allowed Webster to end in the later fifteenth century and say more about the medieval sources, and should have arranged for a separate volume on the sources for the period from James III to 1707, a much more logical stopping place than 1603. Webster, of course, is in no way to blame for this. He has skillfully put together a handbook that will be immensely useful to students and of great interest to older scholars of this period in Scottish history.

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F. N. MCCOY. *Robert Baillie and the Second Scots Reformation*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 244. \$10.00.

Professor McCoy has written a competent life-and-times study of Robert Baillie (1602–62), Glaswegian, minister of Kilwinning, and student, regent, first professor of divinity, and Restoration principal of Glasgow College. In his letters and journals spanning the years 1633–61 (edited in three volumes with a good introduction by David Laing in 1841), Baillie is one of the most reliable



witnesses directly and through his informants to many of the major political and religious events of this period in Scottish history.

As D. J. Stevenson and Gordon Donaldson have both indicated in their recent books, while the majority of the ministry of Scotland in 1637 were not radicals or revolutionaries, a small minority of radical ministers and lawyers in alliance with the power of the nobility and the lairds carried Scotland into as cautious and legal a revolt as they could devise. If the "moderates" had an intellectual leader, it was Baillie. He managed to accommodate, reluctantly, to the Jamesian church settlement of 1618–21 (Perth Articles, bishops), the Covenanter arrangements of 1638–49, and the Cromwellian imposition of 1650–59. He also remained throughout the period a constitutional royalist prepared to accept both Charles I and II if they would respect the legal autonomy and preserve the unity of the Church of Scotland.

Neither the king nor the radical Covenanters trusted Baillie, but it speaks well for the political acumen of the latter that they used Baillie effectively on the committees of the General Assembly and as a commissioner to the Scots army in the First Bishops' War and to the Westminster Assembly of Divines.

There are some disappointments in the book given the amount of research that McCoy has done on Baillie's career. One criticism is the lack of social ambience or context to Baillie's activities. With regard to Glasgow, the author provides a good general description of the town, the burgh government, and the college, but we do not get a sense of the small middling-class oligarchy of families—the Porterfields, the Bells, the Campbells—who ruled Glasgow for most of the seventeenth century. Baillie came from this group and shared its viewpoint.

In addition McCoy does not place Baillie, a university teacher and a respected theologian, in the wider intellectual context of the first half of the seventeenth century. We know, for example, that Johnston of Wariston, a leading lawyer and Covenanter, was reading the works of Althusius and a number of Continental divines. But what Baillie was reading, what books he ordered from the Continent, and his attitude toward Descartes, Grotius, or Bacon are not included in McCoy's work.

Last, there is the question of John Cameron. Baillie in his undergraduate years and in his ministry was closely associated with members of the radical wing of the Kirk—Boyd of Trochrigg, John Livingston, Robert Blair, and David Dickson—and as a theologian he well knew the strict Presbyterian position of Alexander Henderson and Samuel Rutherford. McCoy, however, does not elaborate on why Baillie was so deeply affected by John

Cameron, the theologian and principal of Glasgow College in the fall term of 1622, a man who was considered an Arminian and Erastian by Baillie's close friend and colleague in the college, Robert Blair (pp. 18, 37). There is information about Cameron in the works of G. D. Henderson and G. B. Maury that would have contributed to a clearer understanding of Baillie's "moderate" position in McCoy's presentation.

A study of Baillie's thought and actions offers an opportunity to define what was meant by a "moderate" and to discover those ministers who accepted Baillie's middle way as Scotland began its experiment with theocracy. Perhaps the problem with McCoy's book is that the narrative story of the Covenanted period has been told many times, using Baillie's work as one of the major sources, and that what is needed now, as Stevenson suggests in his recent book, *The Scottish Revolution 1637–1644* (1974), is for those of us interested in Scottish history of the period to try to define, to get behind such terms as the "lairdry," the "moderates," and the "lawyers." Perhaps it is time to see what the use of Sir Lewis Namier's concept of "connections" would do for the history of seventeenth-century Scotland. Such an approach would not violate the central fact of religion as the test of men's allegiances in this period, but it would give us a deeper sense, I suggest, of why they did what they did.

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CHARLES HIGOUNET *et al.*, editors. *La seigneurie et le vignoble de Chateau Latour: Histoire d'un grand cru du Médoc (XIV<sup>e</sup>–XX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. Volumes 1 and 2. (Études et documents d'Aquitaine.) Bordeaux: Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest. 1974. Pp. vi, 317; 321–692.

The private archives of Chateau Latour reach from the Middle Ages to encompass *chartes* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *terriers* and other documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth, and, from the eighteenth on, a nearly complete record of minutes, statements, and account books with a superb series of correspondence from the *regisseurs* of Chateau Latour to its proprietors—the latter documents being marked by an unusual amount of human and social interest. These sources are supplemented by public archives, archives of other chateaux, and the notebooks of shippers, especially the house of Tastet-Lawton—English in origin with beginnings going back to the eighteenth century. A group of historians and geographers from the University of Bordeaux—H. Enjalbert, J.-B. Marquette, J. Cavignac, C. Huetz de Lempis,



P. Butel, R. Pijassou, and P. Guillaume—under the direction of Professor Charles Higounet have explored this treasure. The result is two handsome but densely documented volumes that are a landmark in viticultural history and that triumphantly avoid the annoying exclusivism of many local or specialized monographs.

No vineyard, even as lordly a *premier grand cru* as Chateau Latour, stands alone. Thus Latour's history must touch those of the other *grands crus* of the Médoc, their less exalted neighbors, and the vineyards of other Bordeaux regions. A prominent place is given the wine trade, which was so instrumental during the eighteenth century in permanently orienting the Médoc toward export and quality production, but whose relations with the growers since have not been without difficulties on both sides. Other focuses of the story are the vagaries of weather, the heartbreaking insect invasions, and the vine diseases, including the famous phylloxera whose qualitative and economic effects on vineyards in the class of Chateau Latour, as Pijassou argues in one of the more important contributions, have been greatly exaggerated. Two interesting themes are the boom-and-bust cycle winegrowers seem fated to live with and the prudent adaptation of Chateau Latour over its many years—more than two hundred of them under the ownership of the same family—to changing technologies of viticulture and vinification, business techniques, and labor conditions. Because *grands crus* are a luxury and export article, their market is particularly susceptible to outside factors. Changes in taste, fluctuations of international exchange, economic conditions in general, political developments, wars, and revolutions are therefore all part of the long history of Chateau Latour.

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JEAN JACQUART. *La crise rurale en Ile-De-France: 1550-1670*. (Publications de la Sorbonne, N.S. Recherches 10.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1974. Pp. 795.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the region of Hurepoix extended south from Paris as far as the towns of Rambouillet and Étampes on the road to Orléans and as far as Milly and Corbeil along the Seine. Dominated by cereal crops (especially marketable winter wheat), substantial tracks of wood, and spreading plantations of vineyards, the agricultural economy of this part of fertile Beauce was increasingly subjected to "the needs, ambitions, and requirements" of the French capital (p. 757). Jean Jacquart's substantial volume is in large part a description of this progressive subordination of the countryside to the expansionist,

indeed rapacious, city. Reminiscent of Gaston Roupnel's description of the conquest of the land around Dijon by the newer robe nobility after the Thirty Years' War (see *La Ville et la campagne au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle* [1922, 1953]), Jacquart's Parisian officers, increased by a limited number of court noble families and a swarm of city artisans and small merchants, tightened their hold on the land after each of the two major crises of the period—the religious wars, 1560–1600, and the Fronde, 1640–60.

Jacquart draws an ambivalent conclusion from this century-long conquest of the countryside. On the one hand, it reflects the penetration of a "new mentality," that of "profit and nascent capitalism" (p. 757); on the other hand, the process reinforced the "Society of Orders" because the *citadins* used their new lands and seigneuries not to increase productivity but as a means of social ascent in the hierarchy of dignities. Jacquart places particular stress on the complicity of the *marchands-laboureurs*, the only social group in the rural world to profit from the long-run trends of population, production, prices, and rents as well as from the short-run crises of war, famine, and pestilence.

Despite the determinism implicit in the long-run *conjoncture* of demography, climate, and essentially stagnant food production, Jacquart provides a place, albeit a secondary one, for the more contingent actions of seigneurial administration—the Church, the royal government, and even the accidents of war and pillage. Surely he has exhausted the traditional sources—notarial, seigneurial, fiscal, and administrative—yet the author still laments the "laconic quality" of many of his materials (p. 447). Indeed it is a pity that the sources did not permit much elaboration about popular attitudes or mentalities. His allusions to the "resignation" or "alienation" of the peasantry (p. 758) can be no more than suggestions. But Jacquart is without peer when he describes the physical environment and appraises the material effects of this century-long time of troubles on a very complex rural world.

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ALFRED SOMAN, editor. *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew: Reappraisals and Documents*. (International Archives of the History of Ideas, 75.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1974. Pp. xi, 269. 70 gls.

This is an important book for historians of early modern Europe generally, including as it does fresh assessments of and insights into the tangled politico-religious events of the second half of the sixteenth century across traditional national and confessional lines. The twelve authors, all ranking

specialists in their respective subfields, participated in one or both of two conferences commemorating the four-hundredth anniversary of the massacre in 1972, one at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington and the other at the Newberry Library in Chicago. Alfred Soman, who organized the Newberry conference, has edited the papers to present an unusually coherent and distinguished collection opening with an introduction by H. G. Koenigsberger and concluding with a comment by T. K. Rabb.

The substantive papers are grouped under three headings. The first, "St. Bartholomew and Europe," begins with N. M. Sutherland's analysis of the relation between Spain and events in France. In it she makes necessary distinctions among the long-range, ultra-Catholic policy of "eliminating" the Huguenot leadership, the first assassination attempt on Admiral Coligny, and the massacre itself two days later, showing the importance of timing in regard to events in the Netherlands. If Coligny had led a Huguenot army into the Netherlands, planned for the following week, the French Crown would have faced a war against Spain it did not want and could not have won. The following articles are concerned with the historical impact of these events outside France. Robert M. Kingdon analyzes reactions in Geneva and Rome, bringing out the hitherto unremarked influence of the events on papal policy and administrative techniques. His article is supplemented by Pierre Hurtubise's comment on the increased stimulus to Catholic reform. Reactions of the Elizabethans are discussed by A. G. Dickens, and Lewis W. Spitz undertakes the effects of events in France in the Holy Roman Empire.

The middle section of the book comprises two unpublished documents, carefully edited and interpreted: Tomasso Sassetti's account of the massacre, edited by John Tedeschi, and a discourse dedicated to Count Guido San Georgio Aldobrandini, edited by Alain Dufour. In each case the editor has a fascinating detective story to tell about the provenance of the document, its history, and the problems of identification involved; both making comparisons with well-known contemporary accounts and interpretations. These articles add considerably to our understanding of the impact of French events on Italy, especially in Rome, and fill out the picture of the so-called Wars of Religion in France as the crucible of the ideological and political conflicts of the period throughout Europe.

In part 3, "Martyrs, Rioters and Polemicists," the authors look at the massacre in long-range historical perspective. Donald R. Kelley shows how the events of 1572 conformed to patterns of martyrdom established in Huguenot myth earlier in the century, while Natalie Zemon Davis

analyzes the rites of violence, comparing Catholic with Protestant religious riots in sociological and psychological terms. Both of these articles highlight the interplay of symbols with "facts" in the sixteenth century. The final article, Elisabeth Labrousse's "Wars of Religion in Seventeenth-Century Huguenot Thought," not only brings out vividly the differences between French Protestants in the two centuries, but constitutes a brilliant, capsulated answer to a fundamental question raised by any consideration of the massacre: "What happened to Protestantism in France?"

Each of the articles presents new and important material that any serious scholar of the Reformation needs to assimilate, and each is worthy of detailed review in specialized journals and inclusion in the relevant bibliographies.

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DONALD R. KELLEY. *François Hotman: A Revolutionary's Ordeal*. [Princeton:] Princeton University Press. 1973. Pp. xvi, 370. \$13.50.

Donald Kelley's excellent and well-written biography of François Hotman (1524-90) provides the reader an entree to that passionate—indeed overheated—world of the second generation of French Protestants who carried the burdens of polemic, propaganda, and political organization against the Crown and the Roman Church during the Wars of Religion. A prolific legal scholar and humanist, Hotman placed his learning—and his remarkable talent for invective—in the service of John Calvin and the Genevan church. Kelley portrays him as a committed revolutionary who, during a career spent mainly in exile, sought the restoration of both Christianity and the French state to a condition of pristine virtue.

This biography is to be read not only for the rich detail on Hotman's life and works that it offers, but also for the collective study of the Calvinist "international" of the mid- and later sixteenth century that Kelley presents. Some of the best pages of the book are devoted to the feuds, rivalries, and scholarly wrangles that divided the Calvinists among themselves. There was no firm, hard-core band of Calvinist revolutionaries, but rather there were shifting allegiances and alliances, subtle nuances of thought and commitment, and, not infrequently, defections from the cause. Thus it is the variety of religious and political experiences among the scholarly Protestant activists that emerges most clearly from Kelley's work.

Hotman, however, remained consistently loyal to his faith and, in politics at least, was more intransigent than Calvin. In his hands, historical

and legal scholarship became a powerful political weapon that, Kelly argues, polarized French thinking about the character of the nation and of its constitution. Hotman was not the first, but he was probably the most important political writer of the period to identify the liberties of the French with the tribal or barbarian origins of the country. Kelley's fine analysis of the "germanist" character of the Franco-Gallia constitutes an essential chapter of the constitutional history of the Old Regime.

As is true of so many major French figures of the sixteenth century, the record of Hotman's life remains incomplete. He was, after all, a subversive, and much that he did politically took place in the shadows. Despite the difficulties and inevitable lacunae, Kelley has pursued his subject through the archives and libraries of six European countries and has constructed as complete a biography of Hotman as we are likely to see.

RAYMOND F. KIERSTEAD  
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YVES-MARIE BERCÉ. *Histoire des Croquants: Étude des soulèvements populaires au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le sud-ouest de la France*. In two volumes. (Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'École des Chartes, 22.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1974. Pp. viii, 533; 538-973, 11 plates, 5 maps.

There were 450 to 500 revolts in southwestern France from 1590 to 1715. Yves-Marie Bercé has chosen to study one type, les grandes révoltes paysannes. Lengthy peasant protests engulfed Aquitaine in 1593-95, 1624, 1635, 1636, 1637-41 (the Croquants revolt), 1642-43, 1648-52, 1665, 1675, and 1707. There were fewer in other provinces, perhaps six including the 1639 Nu-pieds revolt in Normandy described by Madeleine Foisil. With careful scholarship, Bercé analyzes common patterns and proposes models for this type of popular revolt. His extensive archival research provides new information, answering for Aquitaine many of the questions on popular revolts posed by Roland Mousnier in the questionnaire reported by Pierre Deyon in the *Revue du Nord*, 44 (1962): 281-90.

Finding that popular revolts in the southwest—sixty per cent of which occurred from 1635 to 1660—were a direct response to the fiscal demands of the Thirty Years' War, Bercé analyzes in detail the disastrous effects of high taxation, epidemics, famine, and pillaging by soldiers. He believes that popular revolts were economic in motivation and describes four types: revolts against bread shortages, troop billeting, collection of the *taille*, and tax farming. Most occurred at harvest time. Community participation tended to be unanimous, a characteristic peculiar to the region, and women often led protests against bread shortages. There is

a fascinating chapter on revolt myths and ideologies. Since outcomes were usually profitable—suspended taxes and amnesty for crimes—Bercé suggests that revolts represented a popular strategy to protect the community against fiscal aggression and corresponded to stages in the creation of a centralized tax machinery.

Bercé's models are not entirely convincing because the role of the provincial elite is not explained. Omitting protests in which the lower classes participated through the stimulus of other social groups, Bercé concentrates on spontaneous rural and urban uprisings in which leaders were elected, but he does not provide a profile of popular leaders or fully explain the role of rebel officials and nobles whose names appear throughout his narration of the revolts. After his excellent articles on noble criminality in the southwest, one expects more from Bercé's brief chapter on the provincial nobility, for instance, a discussion of the impact of clientele systems. Bercé does not analyze the repressive measures customarily taken by provincial and municipal officials, although the reactions of the authorities helped to determine the outcome of popular revolts. He perceptively suggests that provincial officials often rebelled indirectly through the level harassment of royal agents, an insight he does not pursue. Nor does he develop the provocative statement on page 166 that Chancellor Séguier protected the *officiers* against the *commissaires*. Choosing to cover ground already traversed by Mousnier, Foisil, and others, he has achieved massive material confirmation of their theories, which is useful, and he has added much of his own that is original and significant. Bercé offers intriguingly original models of popular revolts, which are described with a baroque richness of detail and color. But his book would be even more valuable if he had pursued some of these "tangential" insights and observations.

SHARON KETTERING  
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WILLIAM DOYLE. *The Parlement of Bordeaux and the End of the Old Regime 1771-1790*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 355. \$21.95.

William Doyle has filled a serious gap in our knowledge of the French parlements with an important thorough study of the Bordeaux Parlement. Combining the techniques of François Bluche and Jean Égret, Doyle analyzes the socioeconomic background of the Bordeaux parlementaires and examines in detail the conflicts between the Bordeaux Parlement and the Crown before the Revolution. He shows that the special character of the Bordeaux magistrates came from a unique combination of factors—money, prestige,

and ambition—and a tight social cohesion within the parlement resulting from frequent intermarriage of parliamentary families and frequent successions of fathers by sons. The magistrates' investments in the brisk land market and wine production of the Bordelais, and their involvement in commercial speculation and colonial proprietorship, gave them deep local roots: they became the champions of the privileges of the region. Unlike elsewhere, a career in the Bordeaux parlements usually did not provide entree into lucrative administrative posts; moreover, the prospects for promotion within the court were limited. Most could not uproot themselves from the Bordelais, and a career in the parlement proved a "dignified dead end"—hence the failure of the Bordeaux parlementaires to develop a truly national vision during the pre-Revolutionary crises.

In the second part of his study Doyle expands the revisionist interpretation of his article, "The Parlements of France and the Breakdown of the Old Regime, 1771–1788," in *French Historical Studies*. He analyzes the chancellor Maupeou's rise to power in terms of personal ambition and attempts to show that Maupeou's remodeling of the Bordeaux Parlement began a long series of administrative intrusions in the Bordelais. The parlement was placed in the position of fighting a rear-guard action against royal "despotism." Yet, as he himself shows, at almost every critical juncture—in the alluvions affair, the attempted reform of the *corvée*, and the call for provincial assemblies—despotism yielded to the obstructionism of the Bordeaux parlementaires. By isolating the disputes between the Crown and the Bordeaux Parlement and treating both them and the Maupeou coup d'état in terms of advancing royal despotism, Doyle assumes the viewpoint of parlementaires to describe historical actuality. He neglects the larger constitutional crisis caused by a growing challenge of all the parlements to the royal fiscal system that began before 1711.

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DAVID M. VESS. *Medical Revolution in France 1789–1796*. (A Florida State University Book.) Gainesville: University Presses of Florida. [1975.] Pp. 216. \$12.00.

If Professor Vess had limited himself to French military surgery during the wars of the first coalition, the area of his expertise, this would be a fine book. By attempting to survey the contemporary revolution in French medicine from the vantage point of battle surgery and to understand the evolution of medical education and professionalization by relying heavily on the archives of the war

ministry, Vess has produced a biased and partial account.

The new plan for medical education, for example, did not originate with the ophthalmologist-surgeon Louis Bernard Guérin in 1794 (p. 100) but resulted from the progressive thought current among civilian physicians in the 1780s. Or again, only three of the twenty professors appointed to the new health schools at Paris and Montpellier in 1794 had any military experience. The liberal thought of the Old Regime and civilian experience loomed much larger than Vess would have us believe. He is correct in arguing that the three-year military emergency trained neophyte doctors in anatomy, that thousands of autopsies furthered localized pathology, and that surgeons saved lives while physicians were left helpless for want of drugs. But from there to arguing that these lessons "produced significant modifications in French medicine [and] medical education" by 1796, the limit of his book, implies a causal relationship that Vess cannot establish. A perusal of certain books and journals might have remedied this faulty perspective and emphasis—Henri Ingrand on the health committee (1934), Jean Imbert on hospital law (1954), many relevant articles in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, the *Journal of the History of Medicine*, and *Clio Medica* to name but a few. The good chapters on surgery (3, 5, 7, and 9) do not suffice to prove Vess's thesis that the "new foundation that had been laid for French medicine and surgery by 1796 was the direct consequence of the trauma of revolution and war" (p. 6).

DORA B. WEINER  
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CHARLES REARICK. *Beyond the Enlightenment: Historians and Folklore in Nineteenth Century France*. (Indiana University Publications. Folklore Institute Monograph Series, volume 27.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 206. \$7.50.

*Beyond the Enlightenment* is a thoughtful, gracefully written essay on that generation of French historians and philosophers of history whose challenge to the assumptions of historiography à la Voltaire was itself to be overborne by historiography à la Seignobos. It was in fact the "Romantic" generation—an adjective that Rearick uses sparingly and within quotation marks—of Augustin Thierry, Jules Michelet, Edgar Quinet, and Pierre-Simon Ballanche as well as of those less-remembered figures like Barante and Henri Martin. Rearick provides both a biographical sketch and a critical dissection of the published works of each author. The novelty of his treatment is to be found less in his explanation of why this generation—born of the postrevolutionary revulsion



against "reason" and dissatisfaction with the formal sterility of life under an increasingly indefensible *juste milieu*—conceived new definitions of the aims and materials of history, than in his account of the varying uses they made of their shared discovery that popular customs and traditions were not the remaining debris of "centuries of barbarism and ignorance" but fundamental clues to the story of human development. The actual fruits they harvested from this discovery were perhaps rather meager. The fact that most chose to find in folklore evidence of some teleological thrust to history—whether toward national self-realization or toward universal Christianity—suggests that for all their new-found cultural relativism they had not really emancipated themselves from the ethical didacticism of earlier generations. With the notable exception of Michelet, in fact, their new historical vision seems to have served them chiefly in writing programmatic statements that remained unfulfilled when they actually wrote history—a history concerned more with the development of philosophical universals than with what today we should call the *histoire des mentalités*. Nevertheless, Rearick concludes, they "founded a tradition of historical research which could be later resumed and better developed. . . . Jacques Bonhomme and his folklore had at last gained a place in French historical thought."

One wonders if this has been achieved today, a century after the founding of the *Revue Historique*, which symbolically marked the end of this generation of historical *franc-tireurs*. The Romantics' interest in soil-rooted traditions might ultimately have taken French historiography farther in what might unkindly be called a *völkisch* direction than the triumph of the positivistic professionals permitted; yet it cannot really be said that Romantic historiography was superseded—or forsaken, as by Quinet himself—without loss, or that its folkloric preoccupations have been fully reintegrated into present-day historical practice. One searches almost in vain for Jacques Bonhomme in most of the great regional *thèses* of the last three decades. We may know how much land he owned and the price of his hectoliter of grain but still know relatively little, except from isolated scholars like Philippe Ariès and Roger Thabault, of what he felt about life and death.

One may gently remind Rearick that his historians who owed so much to Herder were not really "beyond the Enlightenment." Although the efforts of his historians to apprehend the popular past through the humblest evidence were often abortive or naive, Rearick's book affords a stimulating opportunity to reconsider the new dimension they gave to historical inquiry.

JOHN ROTHNEY  
Ohio State University

ROMUALD SZRAMKIEWICZ. *Les régents et censeurs de la Banque de France nommés sous le Consulat et l'Empire*. (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie de la IV<sup>e</sup> Section de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Fifth Series, Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 22.) Geneva: Librairie Droz. 1974. Pp. lviii, 422.

The Bank of France was managed by eight *régents* and three *censeurs* throughout the nineteenth century (in the strictest sense, for the founding acts were of February 13 and 16, 1800), and these officers were, in effect, elected by the two hundred greatest shareholders. The *régents* and *censeurs* were therefore the flower of French capitalism, but little has been known of them until now. This thesis, from the French École Pratique des Hautes Études, is a biographical dictionary of the forty-three men who held offices as *régents* or *censeurs* during the bank's first fifteen years. The author has done thorough—but not exhaustive—research in all accessible sources, private and public, in Paris, the provinces, and Geneva. For each subject he summarizes his findings under seven heads: family background, marriage, descendants, business and professional life, wealth and property, honors and public offices, and personal character. Statutory clauses defining the selection and functions of *régents* and *censeurs* are appended to the volume, and there is an introduction of some thirty pages, which is in fact a general conclusion. It is a useful reference book for all who are interested in the history of the French ruling classes, and, of course, many interesting links can be found with prominent families of the eighteenth and later nineteenth centuries.

About half of these *régents* and *censeurs* may be loosely classified as bankers, the rest were an assortment of business and professional men. At the same time, many of them were vast landowners, and even more of them had speculated profitably in confiscated property (*biens nationaux*) during the French Revolution. Thus, much of their wealth was in land and this fact qualifies another major conclusion: that they were predominantly bourgeois, only one, Le Couteux de Canteleu, having been indubitably a nobleman before the Revolution and only six others having had fathers who had purchased the ennobling office of *secrétaire du Roi*. The composition and sources of their wealth are difficult to generalize about, and their political connections and patronage are even harder to unravel. But their geographical origins are clear and seem to reflect the decline of French Atlantic trade, owing to the triumphant pressure of British sea power—only nine of the forty-three came from the Atlantic Coast, none from Nantes or any other Breton port, whereas twenty-five came from Montpeller, Lyons, Grenoble, Marseilles, and other points to the southeast. Only four of their wives came from Atlantic ports, none



from south of Saint Malo, whereas eight came from Lyons and nine more from the southeastern towns. Books such as this are of great and lasting value to social historians.

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CHRISTOPHER H. JOHNSON. *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1974. Pp. 324. \$17.50.

With Christopher Johnson's study of Cabet, our knowledge of utopian socialism is considerably advanced. Previous publications about the early socialists have tended to concentrate on the ideologies of their protagonists and to neglect early socialism as a movement—as a kind of embryonic political organization involved in winning over, socializing, and preparing the working classes for their rise to power. There is a plethora of intellectual studies, but none that explore deeply into the social context. Johnson's is the first effort to probe extensively the archives and to try to discover the role and strength of Cabet's following in Paris and the provinces. He has been about as successful as one can expect, given the sparsity of documents on the beliefs and allegiances of the lower classes before the rise of opinion polls and micro-sociological investigations. With the aid of police reports, Cabet's private papers, the subscription lists of his journals, observations by contemporaries, and the local history available in monographs, Johnson presents some indications of the size of the movement, its geographic location, and a profile of the typical Icarian communist. All this is admittedly "soft" data, and with it he can do little more than suggest or offer enlightened guesses when answering the questions he posed because his questions had to do with quantities.

Given these limits, I find his approach to be adequate; most of his conclusions seem reasonable. At times he has perhaps gone beyond his data, as when he asserted that "tailors, shoemakers and cabinetmakers flocked to the Icarian cause." Table 3 shows that these three crafts provided forty per cent of a sample of 497 declared Icarians; but it does not indicate their clearly minute percentage in the total number of workers in these crafts. This is, however, a minor issue and by no means detracts from the value of the book. Much of this value lies in Johnson's explanations of the reasons why workers became Icarians in several provincial cities and in his assessment of Cabet, not as a theorist, for Johnson acknowledges his subject's mental limits, but as a leader involved in the practical problems of tactics, organization, and recruitment. Until 1847 Cabet was an effective, practical leader; but afterward he became a dictatorial messiah—a development of personality that

won the approval of large numbers of his followers as the movement assumed the character of a sect. Johnson's explanation of this transition is quite interesting; he combines factors within and without the sect and relates the transition to Cabet's decision to emigrate. His empirical explanation should prove valuable to students looking for a theory about millennial movements in general.

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HANS-DIETER MANN. *Lucien Febvre: La pensée vivante d'un historien*. Preface by FERNAND BRAUDEL. (Cahiers des Annales, 31.) Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1971. Pp. 189. 30 fr.

In 1950, when Fernand Braudel succeeded Lucien Febvre at the Collège de France at Paris, the famous medievalist Ferdinand Lot was reported to have remarked that the election was the "shame" of French scholarship. One can still find opposition to the successors of what H. Stuart Hughes aptly has called the "Febvre pontificate," although today the *Annales* historians remain the virtual masters of the French historical profession with a charismatic influence upon historians throughout the world.

In this slender book, the historian Hans-Dieter Mann contributes to our further understanding of a remarkable historiographical movement with an impressionistic analysis of the historical ideas of Febvre (1878-1956), a *chef d'école* who was without doubt one of the most brilliant and imaginative historians of the twentieth century. Mann has divided his study unevenly into three parts. The second part, devoted to Febvre's role in the development of a new history, is the nucleus of the book and the section that will be of greatest interest to most historians. By skillful documentation of Febvre's reactions to the seminal ideas of his contemporaries, scholars such as the sociologist Emile Durkheim, the geographer Vidal de la Blache, and especially the philosopher Henri Berr, Mann has exposed remarkably well the long roots of the *Annales* revolt against the positivistic and narrative history (*histoire événementielle*) of the French academic establishment of the early decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, historians today will find it sobering to see how Febvre, and his followers in the *Annales*, retained a passionate attachment to a unique and independent historical discipline in spite of a constant fascination and involvement with the methodologies of the social sciences.

Given the solid grounding of Mann's book in Febvre's incredibly prolific writings, it would be churlish to dwell upon the fact, noted by Fernand Braudel in an otherwise enthusiastic preface, that

the author has not utilized archival material in preparing this study. Indeed, since the book was written—the most recent item in the bibliography is 1967—several American scholars have discovered in letters and official reports written by Febvre important new dimensions of his thought. But Mann's talents and inclinations lie closer to Isaiah Berlin's philosophical fox than to the hedgehog. One hopes that in future studies Mann will explore further such fascinating themes as the filiation of ideas between Febvre, linguistic theory, and structuralism, which are too hastily presented throughout this book.

But readers of this book will be well rewarded by becoming more familiar with the mind of a historian who has been called with some justice the "intellectual banker of his age," while specialists should rejoice that this guide to the *ouillage mental* of Febvre brings us closer to the time when a more definitive history of the *Annales* historical school can be written.

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RICHARD L. KAGAN. *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. xxv. 278. \$13.50.

The central chapters of this book examine the development of an important facet of early modern Spanish society: the three-part relationship between the *Colegios Mayores*, an important facet of the universities; the evolving *letrado* class, analogous to a nobility of the robe; and the upper levels of Spanish government and bureaucracy. The *Colegios Mayores* expanded rapidly in sixteenth-century Castile, accounting for much of the growth of university education stimulated by growing governmental demand for trained legal administrative personnel. As the Spanish empire evolved, however, the *Colegios Mayores* increasingly became the preserve of a cluster of *letrado* dynasties. *Colegio* scholarships for poor students were perverted to support the sons of successful graduates, while *colegio* teaching chairs became temporary positions for graduates who were candidates for high government appointments. By 1600 *Colegio* admission was largely restricted to sons of previous graduates, while the higher bureaucracy was dominated by the same group. Simultaneously, *Colegio* training became a prerequisite for high office. Serious education became irrelevant to the system, and a closed structure perpetrated a conservative set of values and attitudes within the very administrative elite that was crucial to implementation of any reform under the Old Regime. The development of this closed system of education and co-option to office was under way by the 1550s, was completed

by 1650, and continued to operate into the eighteenth century. These findings go far toward explaining in social and educational terms the observed characteristics, such as incompetence and lack of commitment, of both the Spanish bureaucracy and the Castilian universities in the early modern period.

These results make *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* an important book for the social history of modern Spain, despite some problems of perspective and emphasis. The initial impression is of a study of higher education in a fairly wide sense, but the real concern is with a particular facet of that system and its relationship with the state. While the central chapters represent thorough and imaginative scholarship, the coverage of the eighteenth century is less effective than for the two preceding centuries. There are annoying mechanical problems that are surprising given the reputation of the publisher, who apparently gave the author little help in tightening style and syntax.

Despite these concerns, however, the important parts of the book are based on thorough research and penetrating insights. *Students and Society in Early Modern Spain* is an innovative book that should be examined carefully by any scholar of early modern European society.

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MARIA DO ROSÁRIO DE SAMPAIO THEMUDO BARATA. *Rui Fernandes de Almada: Diplomata português do século XVI*. Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, Centro de Estudos Históricos. 1971. Pp. xiv, 361.

Rui Fernandes de Almada's career as bureaucrat, noble diplomat or ennobled merchant, and royal confidant spanned a period between 1480 and 1540 when Portugal forged important economic ties with Northern Europe. Almada was associated with many of the outstanding businessmen of this age, and the author seeks to assess the diplomatic contribution of this Portuguese man of letters. He traces Almada's active service to the Portuguese Crown, first in North Africa at Oran and Safi, then on to Flanders and special missions in France and the Germanies. Unfortunately, the extant documentation does not always afford a chronological continuity, and at times Almada's role in events under discussion seems almost contrived, or at best marginal. The book is not strictly biographical, but rather it affords a panoramic view of trade relations between Portugal and her European suppliers and markets.

Of special interest is this diplomat's quest for new sources of copper ore, which Portugal needed

for overseas trade. The author suggests that it was Almada's desire to seek out smaller German mining companies directly and to avoid dealing with massive consortia like the Fuggers and Hochstetter interests, who were reluctant to exchange Portuguese spices for metal. By bartering with small concerns, the mounting specie shortage in Portugal could be alleviated.

JOHN VOGT  
University of Georgia

JAN DE VRIES. *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700*. (Yale Series in Economic History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 316. \$15.00.

Chroniclers of the early modern economic history of the Netherlands have paid scant attention to rural development. They have tended, properly, to focus on the great feats associated with Dutch shipping and commerce in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, secondarily examining the outstanding industrial activity and leaving the countryside pretty well alone. As Jan de Vries amply demonstrates in this welcome study, however, the Dutch rural economy figured significantly in the overall economic progress, and rural as well as urban society received the benefits of the achievement.

De Vries approaches his subject in terms of patterns of economic development and behavior. His testings of general economic theory and his explanations of his methods of analysis are doubtless more useful to specialists in rural development than to most historians, but the results are clear enough for all to see. In the early sixteenth century, the five provinces of the Netherlands examined by de Vries—South and North Holland, Utrecht, Friesland, and Groningen—constituted a thinly populated agricultural backwater of Europe. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, when growth was to level off, the rural economy of these provinces was the most advanced in the Western world.

Once the Dutch had secured a plentiful and inexpensive source of grain from Baltic suppliers and wealthy burghers began to look to the country for profitable investment, the Dutch rural inhabitants, with few seigneurial institutions to hold them in place, rapidly ceased functioning as all-purpose peasants. Vast drainage projects, networks of windmills for motive power and of canals for transportation, the intensive mining of peat for fuel, and the nearness of markets in this small area speckled with towns: these features contributed to a highly specialized agriculture and, for over half the rural population, to a large variety of occupations as craftsmen and laborers and in trade and

commerce. The new farmers concentrated on crops for the manufacture of oil and hemp and soap, on dairy products, and on vegetables and fruits. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the wares and services of the rural populace were yielding visible returns. The more affluent among them, like the thriving burghers, were building spacious brick homes, furnished with oak, linens, and pewter. They owned clocks, mirrors, silver, porcelain, paintings, and books, and they sent their children to school. (The majority of the rural population was literate by 1660.) Such amenities were virtually unknown, outside of the aristocracy, elsewhere in rural Europe. Indeed, de Vries's thorough research depicts an economy that was no longer rural in the traditional sense. While countrysides to the east and south were to remain essentially unchanged for many generations, town and country had blended in this northwest corner of the Continent into a vital and prosperous economic entity.

JORDAN E. KURLAND  
American Association of University Professors

J. G. VAN DILLEN. *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van het bedrijfsleven en het gildewezen van Amsterdam* [Sources for the History of the Trade and the Gilds of Amsterdam]. Volume 3, 1633-1672. (Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, Major Series, volume 144.) The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1974. Pp. x, 959.

When J. G. van Dillen began this series in 1926, he intended it to include sources for Amsterdam's commerce and trade guilds during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The first volume, 1512-1611, appeared in 1929; the second, 1612-32, was published in 1933. Busy with other duties for many years, he lately resumed work on volume 3 and largely completed it before he died in 1969.

The collection includes charters, council resolutions, memorandums, and other documents pertaining to guilds and trade from the Amsterdam burgomasters' archives, treasury archives, legal archives, bankruptcy court archives, and the soap-makers' gild archives. But by far the largest number come from the Amsterdam notarial records. These are some of the most interesting sources: apprenticeship contracts, declarations concerning the abuse of apprentices, a tentmaker's contract to make a royal tent for the king of Sweden, and a house-remodeling contract.

Despite its large size, this volume contains only a very small sampling of the mass of documents that it represents. Of the relevant notarial archives only fifteen per cent were systematically researched, and of these only twenty per cent are included in

the volume. Obviously no quantitative judgments can be formed from such a selection. Percentages for the earlier volumes are considerably higher. The editors are aware of the problem. "In essence," they write, "these three volumes have the character of contributions to the knowledge of the sources for the history of the trade and guilds of Amsterdam. The term 'Sources for the History' in the title is not restrictive but declarative in nature." Perhaps, as they contend, the project is useful in that it provides researchers with some idea of what may be found in the archives, of which this is a sample, but whether such publications are worth the effort and expense involved may still be questioned.

EDWIN J. VAN KLEY  
Calvin College

ANNETTE ANDRÉ-FÉLIX. *Les débuts de l'industrie chimique dans les Pays-Bas autrichiens*. (Centre d'Histoire Économique et Sociale.) Brussels: Éditions de l'Institut de Sociologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles. 1971. Pp. 148. 220 fr. B.

The early history of chemical technology shows that it progressed purely by trial and error. The rate of diffusion owed everything to a combination of entrepreneurial initiative—occasionally aided by the state—and mere chance, and nothing to theory, formal teaching, or the laboratory. Contemporaries recorded the resulting isolated and unrelated developments because they were of local significance, and also because chemistry was then a subject of fashionable attention. But the economic consequences often remained unrecorded, and the absence of cost and production figures means that we remain remarkably ill informed about the origins of the chemical industry.

This slim book adds something to our technical and economic knowledge. The author relates her description of eighteenth-century sulphuric and nitric acid manufacture to the broader commercial background of the Austrian Netherlands. The description of the government's import substitution policy, culminating in the support given to Thomas Murry's chemical works in the 1760s, is interesting. Alas, Murry was a bad businessman and the Austrians lost most of their money.

The narrow, local scope of this scholarly and clearly written study does not allow any general conclusions to be drawn. It will therefore have only a limited appeal to those concerned with the early stages of growth in European industry.

L. F. HABER  
University of Surrey

MARTEN G. BUIST. *At Spes Non Fracta: Hope & Co. 1770-1815. Merchant Bankers and Diplomats at Work*.

[Amsterdam:] Bank Mees & Hope NV. 1974. Pp. x, 716.

After twenty years of preparation, during which most outside researchers were refused access to its archives, a company-appointed Dutch historian has published a history of Hope & Co. (Amsterdam), a large and important merchant bank of the eighteenth and nineteenth century. A sixty-page introductory chapter describes the Hope family as exceedingly righteous—if not always sympathetic; it is followed by about 250 pages of informative but somewhat tedious enumerations of loans dispensed to Sweden, Poland, Russia, Spain, and others. We hear of the size of the loans, their rates of interest, and the difficulties of their placement, as well as about Hope's less successful competitors, but are told little of the political circumstances surrounding the loans, the negotiations beyond the narrow financial framework, or the questionable procedures that other historical sources reveal. Thus, the dubious relationship between Hope and Napoleonic France is largely passed over, and likewise many aspects of the Russian business. Then comes a chapter on the decline of the firm, and, in the last seventy pages, something about Hope's merchant activities. Enlightening though it could have been, this part suffers not only from brevity and confinement to specific topics, but also from not being related to Hope's other activities. There are added some twenty illustrations and, finally, quite a number of statistics. Some of these—including the longest, a nine page list of pictures owned by Hope and their prices—are not very relevant; others, giving the capital and loss accounts, the turnover, and selected figures about merchandise transactions, are useful but neither integrated into the story nor evaluated.

The book deals with an important topic; it contains much, but it leaves out more. Many additional sources should have been consulted or, if they were, better exploited, including the archives of Barings, Brandts of London, and Rothschilds, as well as political correspondence, consular reports, trade statistics, and port books. Moreover, aside from a book like Ralph Hidy's *House of Baring in American Trade and Finance* (1949), various excellent histories of banks, merchant houses, and industries could have been taken as models. But perhaps the author was restrained by "public relations" considerations of his employers. Thus, a volume was produced that is welcome for what information about banking activities of the time it gives—and this is an extensive contribution. But it is far from being an acceptable history of Hope & Co. and its time.

WALTHER KIRCHNER  
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IMANUEL GEISS and BERND JÜRGEN WENDT, editors. *Deutschland in der Weltpolitik des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*. [Gütersloh:] Bertelsmann Universitätsverlag. 1973. Pp. 594. DM 38.

Historians are not always well served by *Festschriften*, too many of which, despite their editors' best intentions, become disarticulated collections of inconsequential stuff that have little relevance to the achievements of the men they are meant to honor. This is not true in this case. Professors Geiss and Wendt have done their work well; the trivial and the purely laudatory have been rigorously excluded, and all of the essays presented here deal with important problems that received negligible attention from German historians until Fritz Fischer startled them with the publication of *Griff nach der Weltmacht* in 1961. The level of scholarship is generally high, and the volume as a whole is an impressive demonstration of Fischer's influence on the profession.

Fischer's students and followers have always, to be sure, tended to be hot-gospellers, and some of these essays show the weaknesses that result from this: excessive polemicism, reluctance to abandon Fischerian positions that have proven untenable, and a preoccupation with continuity that threatens to become an obsession.

Thus, in an otherwise absorbing essay on Kurt Riezler, Imanuel Geiss goes out of his way to invent a new "*Magic Flute Effect*" (based on Mozart's transformation of the good Queen of the Night into an evil Queen of the Night and the ogrelike Sarastro into the noble Sarastro) to describe what he believes are radical reversals in the interpretations of Bethmann Hollweg's foreign policy by Fischer's critics. This is amusing, but it is also distracting and not entirely persuasive, particularly since Geiss's own views of Bethmann Hollweg seem to have been modified. At least, he has backed away from Fischer's original argument that the wartime chancellor's policy was indistinguishable from that of the most rabid militarists and expansionists. Geiss does cover the retreat, awkwardly enough, by writing that the *Machtwille* of German society was more important than the chancellor's "subtle spiritual agitations" (*subtilen Seelenregungen*) (pp. 411-12).

Less inclined to yield is Adolf Gasser, who, in his article on the *deutsche Hegemonialkrieg von 1914*, still maintains, as Fischer did in his book *Krieg der Illusionen* (1969), that the German decision to go to war was made in a meeting of the Kaiser with his military and naval chiefs in December 1912, although this theory has not stood up to subsequent criticism. Indeed, he himself adds qualifications that take away on one hand what he asserts on the other.

A good deal is said in this volume about "conti-

nunity," appropriately enough, since Fischer has made much of it, particularly with respect to foreign policy. But in one of the volume's best essays, Fritz Epstein gives a convincing demonstration of how easy it is to overplay this theme at the expense of the truth by demolishing the connection that Fischer tried to make, in the fifth chapter of *Krieg der Illusionen*, between Bismarck's attitude toward Russia in 1887 and the terms of the treaty of Brest-Litovsk in 1918. Epstein's point is clear: too great a desire to prove continuity leads to a tendency to ignore nuances and to confuse chance likenesses and similarities of formulation with identity in essence. This volume is not free of such faults. In an interesting essay on the resistance leader General Ludwig Beck, for example, Klaus-Jürgen Müller writes that Beck believed that, in foreign affairs, the German government should try to pursue "a German great power policy that was better thought out, more intelligently planned, and implemented more carefully and with better and more sensible means, and thereby, as far as possible, to avoid the mistakes of Wilhelmine policy and to pay a little more attention to the interests of the other great powers." He then adds, surprisingly, "On the basis of this kind of continuity, albeit modified, no convincing alternative to Hitler's foreign policy could develop" (p. 528). This is to disregard nuances with a vengeance.

These tendencies are not as obtrusive as these remarks may seem to indicate. There is not an essay in this volume that will not reward the careful reader. At the risk of seeming to slight other excellent articles, special mention should be made of Arnold Sywottek's comprehensive analysis of the Fischer controversy; Günter Moltmann's account of an early example of American military assistance—the sale of the frigate *United States* to the Frankfurt national government in 1849—and his generalizations from the case; and Theodore Hamerow's careful analysis of the motivations for the enfranchisement of the masses in 1867. Also noteworthy are Dirk Stegmann's exposition of the evolution of Miquel's *Sammlungspolitik* from 1890 to 1897; Peter-Christian Witt's intriguing revelation of the financial jiggery-pokery that was hidden behind the myth of the incorruptible Prussian civil service—"The Prussian *Landrat* as Tax Official, 1891-1918"; Gerald Feldman's important contribution to our growing knowledge of the attitudes of the academic elite before and during the first World War—a study of the political views and activities of the chemist Emil Fischer from 1909 to 1919; and the essays of Helmut Böhme and Peter Borowsky on the special role of Finland and the Ukraine in German imperialistic thinking. The list of contributors is well balanced, including not only Fischer's most productive students but specialists in other countries like Hans Gatzke, John Moses,



James Joll, John Röhl, Raymond Poidevin, Pierre Renouvin, Anneliese Thimme, and George W. F. Hallgarten.

The editors have also included a bibliography of Fischer's works and a complete list of the dissertations he has directed that is in itself a striking proof of his impact on German historiography.

GORDON A. CRAIG  
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GEORGE L. MOSSE. *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich*. New York: Howard Fertig. 1975. Pp. xiv, 252. \$14.00.

Professor Mosse argues in this book that since the time of the French Revolution people have come to worship themselves, that is, the nation, and that in the nineteenth century a new politics sought to express and enhance national feeling and unity "through the creation of a political style which became, in reality, a secularized religion" (p. 2). The new style consisted of the use of national myths and symbols and the creation of a liturgy that permitted the people to participate directly in national worship. The mass movements of the twentieth century adopted this style with little change and thus became the heirs of a tradition that had long presented an alternative to parliamentary democracy. Mosse discusses the new style as it developed in Germany in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Underlying the festive ceremonies and the mythmaking in Germany was the idea of beauty as the unifying element in society, as the absolute that could bring together opposites and ennoble national life. The new politics, the effort to nationalize the emerging masses, relied heavily on the appeal of the beautiful in Mosse's view. Specifically, he describes the symbolism and mythical significance of national monuments, public festivals, the theater, and the ceremonial role of organizations including the gymnastic associations, choral societies, sharpshooting clubs, and labor groups. He discusses Hitler's taste, showing both his idiosyncrasies and his continuity with the established patterns of mythmaking and national worship. The new politics, Mosse concludes, was not the conscious application of a political theory but the encouragement of esthetic, objective expression of the basic longing for wholeness or totality, which the masses felt as they emerged in a partisan, pluralistic, and confusing world. Monuments symbolized and festivals and ceremonies personalized this expression.

Mosse's work rests upon extensive use of monograph and periodical literature. He has not overlooked such relevant works as those of Thomas Nipperdey and Albert Speer. The book is pleasant

to read and coherently organized. The reader will not, however, find very much systematic social analysis. We are conditioned today, perhaps overconditioned, to expect an author to place the ideas, emotions, or psychological needs with which he deals in the context of social groups. One could argue that the emerging masses were not socially undifferentiated and are, therefore, susceptible to social analysis and that different elements of these masses doubtlessly perceived the need for totality differently and therefore most likely participated differently in any expression of national feeling. An exploration of the social context would have been of considerable interest. I do not mean, however, to detract from the value of Mosse's book. He has made an important and unique contribution to the literature on nationalism and totalitarianism. Moreover, by demonstrating the power and prevalence of various nationalistically oriented mythical and ritualistic practices in the nineteenth century and their influence on the twentieth century, he reminds us of the importance of keeping in mind the principle of continuity in history.

ROBERT W. LOUGEE  
University of Connecticut

HANS LIEBESCHÜTZ. *Von Georg Simmel zu Franz Rosenzweig: Studien zum jüdischen Denken im deutschen Kulturbereich*. With an afterword by ROBERT WELTSCH. (Schriftenreihe wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen des Leo Baeck Instituts, number 23.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1970. Pp. 258.

The Leo Baeck Institute—founded in 1955 by former German-Jewish groups with its main center in New York and smaller centers in Jerusalem and London—is designed for research in history, sociology, and the development of German Jews, giving that group, as it were, a spiritual identity. Intellectual history based on German idealism and critical idealism (belief that events are controlled by ideas), which developed in Germany, also served as a basis for German-Jewish intellectual activity in Germany, and it continues to play a considerable role in this sort of research combined with a kind of filiopietism.

Liebeshütz's book fits into this category. In fact, the subtitle would be a more appropriate title. The book is a collection of five or six studies only loosely connected, if at all, dealing with about half a dozen German-Jewish philosophers, theologians, and others. They range from Hermann Cohen (1842-1918), professor of philosophy in Marburg and founder of the Neo-Kantian school, who convinced himself that Judaism, Protestantism, and Germanism were compatible and shared an identity of purpose in the service of mankind and who, in the last years of his life, formulated the concept

of a "religion of reason," which he found in the sources of Judaism, to his pupil Franz Rosenzweig, who around the time of World War I became active in seeking ways to bring Jews back to Judaism (Cohen's *Religion of Reason out of the Sources of Judaism* has recently been published in an English translation by Simon Kaplan [1971]).

Liebeschütz's studies—like some others—strive to explain the relation (or dependence) of German-Jewish thought to German thought generally, either as an adaptation of the latter or as a reaction to it, as the case may be, and point out the backgrounds and appropriate changes in Judaism. The studies may be good as such things go and may depict the intellectual trends among German Jews, mainly intellectuals, showing the dichotomy between Jewishness and Germanism and the attempts to form a synthesis during a few generations prior to the catastrophe, but they are not unproblematic.

I feel some unease regarding some studies of this sort—Liebeschütz's included—that concentrate on externals of the personalities instead of on probing deeper into the specifics of Jewish thought in order to disentangle its dialectics of "similar and separate" in relation to German thought. This may be epitomized by the unprovable speculation about the "Jewishness" and the Jewish traits in the ideas of Georg Simmel (1858–1918, professor of philosophy and sociology in Strasbourg), who was a Protestant of Jewish origin—his father having converted—and the later attempt to "blame" him for regarding Jewish religion as obsolete and for negating Jewish tradition and positive Jewishness.

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WERNER SCHIEFEL. *Bernhard Dernburg 1865–1937: Kolonialpolitiker und Bankier im wilhelminischen Deutschland*. (Beiträge zur Kolonial- und Überseegeschichte, volume 11.) Zurich: Atlantis. [1974.] Pp. 277.

Fritz Epstein's wish has been fulfilled; we now possess an excellent biography of Germany's controversial colonial secretary. The heart of the book, more than half the text, as well as the center of Dernburg's own existence, is his tenure as colonial secretary from 1906 to 1910. During this time he changed colonial policy from empirical action, congenial to each colonial secretary, to a program of rational economic development. He intended to convert each colony into an economic unit that would cover the cost of its own government. Schiefel maintains that the main impetus for reform came from the centralized colonial regime rather than from the colonies. If the author had limited

his consideration to Dernburg's secretaryship this biography would have benefited only African historians. Schiefel, however, pursues Dernburg's career through the Second Reich into the Weimar Republic and, finally, to Dernburg's demise as an "unperson" after 1933. As a businessman in high political office, Dernburg personified that close connection between economics and politics so characteristic of the last years of Wilhelminian Germany. His career illustrates the limited upward mobility of the times; occasionally outsiders breached the citadel of Junker officialdom even if they were not socially accepted.

Schiefel devotes few pages to the young Dernburg. This gap is caused by the problem of sources; fifty-one boxes of Dernburg's memorabilia were burned in Berlin in 1943. His youth contained unhappy instances, which might have affected subsequent action: the failures in preparatory schools, the inability to achieve a reserve officer's commission, and the discrimination because of his Jewish heritage. Dernburg, however, apparently experienced neither ambivalence nor hostility because of his father's conversion from Judaism to the evangelical faith.

For diplomatic historians Dernburg's career illustrates the limits of personal diplomacy. Always an Anglophile, he sought an entente with England on the basis of an all-Africa colonial agreement. Schiefel reveals Dernburg as one who recognized imperialism as an aid to peace rather than as a cause of war; territorial exchange in Africa would smooth the way for a bilateral agreement with England. His attempt failed because it could not be harmonized with higher priorities in the German Foreign Office. One wonders, too, if Dernburg's Jewish background impeded the acceptance of his detente proposal. Equally unsuccessful, though for different reasons, was his semiofficial mission to the United States in 1914 to raise money and support for Germany.

Schiefel's portrait of Dernburg is masterful. Without eulogizing or incriminating but with an astute balance, the author candidly renders Dernburg the banker, Dernburg the statesman, and Dernburg the diplomat between two worlds.

ARTHUR J. KNOLL  
University of the South

GERHARD A. RITTER, editor. *Gesellschaft, Parlament und Regierung: Zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus in Deutschland*. (Veröffentlichung der Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1974. Pp. 458. DM 24.

MICHAEL STÜRMER. *Regierung und Reichstag im Bismarckstaat 1871–1880*. Volume 54. (Beiträge zur Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politi-

schen Parteien.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 1974. Pp. 376. DM 68.

For many years, the Kommission für Geschichte des Parlamentarismus und der politischen Parteien in Bonn has sponsored a distinguished series of monographs, of which Michael Stürmer's study of the first decade of the Reichstag, the fifty-fourth volume in its offering, is a worthy continuation. The essays edited by Gerhard A. Ritter, also sponsored by the commission, serve as a promising foretaste of the monumental *Handbuch der Geschichte des deutschen Parlamentarismus*, which the commission plans eventually to publish.

Stürmer argues that the depression which began in 1873 accelerated the demise of the fragile claim to parliamentarianism exerted by the Reichstag. Bismarck, shrewdly playing upon economic malaise and fears of Socialist radicalism, eventually brought about the parliamentary alliance of *Roggen und Eisen*, the hallmarks of which were the anti-Socialist law of 1878 and the protectionist tariff of the following year. The chancellor was confronted by a difficult task, for the Reichstag, dominated by free traders, was recalcitrant and the Prussian ministry antagonistic. In the course of his battle to forge the alliance, the Bonapartist strain in Bismarck was revealed in his repeated threats of parliamentary dissolution with accompanying dramatic appeals to the electorate, in dark hints of coups d'état, in his mobilization of public opinion through interest groups, and in his growing awareness of the tactical desirability of promoting social welfare legislation. It was only the two attempts on the life of William I in the summer of 1878, the first of which was perpetrated by a Socialist and the second suspected of Socialist inspiration, that provided the chancellor, already adept at capitalizing on the emotions of the masses, a chance of success. The result of the union of industry and agriculture was an enhancement of Bismarck's position, an increasing measure of financial independence for the Reich, the transformation of political parties based on principle into agents of economic interest, the assumption of the *Sozialfrage* by the state rather than the parties, and the reduction of the Reichstag to an "Interessenbörse" and rhetorical forum. Bonapartism in Germany was not caparisoned in imperial regalia but in Bismarck's rumpled *Gardejäger* uniform.

Stürmer's argument is quite persuasive when he deals with the chancellor and the bourgeois parliamentary leadership. His narrative is rich in suggestion and sensible conclusions, and it is enlivened in the footnotes by critical or appreciative references to the recent literature on the Bismarckian Reich. Like Ritter, in his introductory contribution to the volume of essays, Stürmer

discounts the view of Ernst Huber and others that the German Constitution of 1871 represented a viable resolution of the dualism of monarchical executive and parliament. The constitution was in fact an improvisation, and it consequently worked to the advantage of the force most skilled at manipulation. In such circumstances, Bismarck was easily triumphant.

Stürmer's treatment of the motivation that led the agricultural conservatives to close ranks with industry is less satisfactorily developed. The depression of 1873 was an industrial, not an agricultural, phenomenon, for financial misery did not descend on East Elbian farmers until about 1880. The bond between *Roggen und Eisen*, never without its abrasions, cannot convincingly be attributed a mutuality of economic despair but should be treated as a common response to the Socialist peril, its maladroitness assassins, and its incontestable success at the polls. Stürmer is aware of the shallow roots of the alliance, but his analysis would profit from further exploration of the equivocal nature of conservative support for protection in the 1870s. The decisive development enabling the chancellor to assert his thralldom on German politics was not the economic misfortunes of 1873 but the assassination attempts on the emperor five years later. It was only those outrages which pushed the landed interest into the arms of industry and the electorate into the snares of Bismarck's policy of reaction, which on the surface was directed against the Socialists but which in fact had the destruction of the liberal Reichstag as its aim. The ideological *Sammlung* of landed proprietors and industrialists would survive the collapse of the empire in 1918, but the economic bond between the two endured hardly more than a decade.

The nineteen essays marshalled by Ritter, including a useful one by Stürmer on the military budgets under Bismarck, span the period from 1815 to the present. Some are general, even speculative, while others, such as Rudolf Morsey's interesting evaluation of the authenticity of Heinrich Brüning's memoirs, are quite specific. Some of the contributions are fortified by considerable statistical elaboration. Every historian concerned with the Reichstag should read Alfred Milatz's exemplary portrayal of the way in which the geographical division of electoral districts and the increasing frequency of run-off elections tended to work to the advantage of East Elbia and to those parties whose strength was concentrated rather than distributed among the population. Many of the articles, such as Milatz's dissection of the Reichstag, are useful in providing background for Stürmer's treatment of the early Bismarckian era. Hans Boldt points out that German constitutional theory in the Vormärz—and thereafter—proved

unable to devise a formula that would delineate the prerogatives of Crown and parliament. Manfred Botzenhart analyzes how the attachment of the liberals in 1848 to parliamentarism was compromised by their fear of social unrest. The refuge they chose was to endorse the principle of a strong executive. An essay by Klaus Erich Pollmann shows that the talent of Bismarck and his conservative allies for employing a democratic franchise to its advantage was already well developed in the North German Confederation.

As Stürmer himself makes clear, the ground in Germany was ripe for Bonapartism long before Bismarck, the depression of 1873, or the Socialist menace came on the scene. It was Bismarck's genius, or his perversity, to know how to manipulate the *Furcht und Hoffnung* of those who mistrusted him but who feared the future even more. Bismarck's conservative alliance of 1878–79 succeeded in undermining parliament and halting the Socialist threat, but its legacy, as Stürmer aptly points out, was deathly. It carried in its train the imperialist adventures of the 1880s, Bülow's *Weltpolitik* in the following two decades, Tirpitz's navy, and the ultimate poisoned fruit of Bismarck's victory over parliamentary liberalism, the *persönliches Regiment* of William II.

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BRUCE WALLER. *Bismarck at the Crossroads: The Reorientation of German Foreign Policy after the Congress of Berlin, 1878–1880*. (University of London Historical Studies, 35.) London: University of London, the Athlone Press; distrib. by Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 1974. Pp. 273. \$18.00.

This valuable study, based on exhaustive research in the sources of four of the five great powers, deals with the two years following the Congress of Berlin, which had the unintended result of engendering Russian hostility and forcing Bismarck to reassess his policy. By 1880 Bismarck had entered into the Dual Alliance and was embarked on re-establishing the *Dreikaiserbund*. Waller's detailed treatment gives us a welcome look into the minute workings of European diplomacy, but it does not essentially alter the traditional picture. The only exception is that he assigns greater weight to the personal animosity between Bismarck and Gorchakov than to the policy issues that divided them.

He is partially correct, particularly as we know that Bismarck was a hater par excellence; but it is an inadequate appraisal. Underlying the execution of the agreements of the congress, especially the Romanian problem—we have to thank the author for revealing that Bismarck's stance was strongly

influenced by economic motives—and the entire Near Eastern settlement, was the shift from a senior-junior partnership between Russia and Prussia before 1856 to one of equality between Russia and Germany after 1871. This development, coupled with the Russian-Austrian rivalry in the Balkans, may have led Bismarck to overreact. But the man who realized that states do not have friends, only interests, was also aware that even with different chancellors, Russia would be averse to seeing the Russian-German relationship reversed. Determined to preserve the peace, Bismarck tried to deflect the interests of France and England to the periphery of Europe but then came to the conclusion that an improved understanding with St. Petersburg could only be reached by way of Vienna.

It would have helped had Waller more than alluded to the German domestic policy changes around 1879 and tied them to the foreign policy reorientation. The reader misses above all, however, an adequate presentation of the policies of the other great powers to which Bismarck was compelled to react. If, as could easily be deduced, the burden of European politics lay solely on Bismarck, it is no wonder that he suffered from neuralgia and had *cauchemars des coalitions*.

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University of South Carolina

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN and JOACHIM RADKAU. *Deutsche Industrie und Politik: Von Bismarck bis Heute*. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt. 1974. Pp. 574.

Nowhere in the West has there been a greater change in historiographical approach over the last fifteen years than in Germany. An almost exclusive preoccupation with constitutional, diplomatic, and intellectual history has yielded to a preoccupation with economic and social history. This has brought, together with undeniable benefits, the temptation to see all politics as determined by social and economic forces. The authors, the first a veteran and the other one of the most brilliant younger members of the new school, escape the temptation almost, but not quite. Aware that history cannot be restricted to narrative detail, they are nevertheless more successful in tracing the efforts of industrial lobbies than in evaluating the long-term effects.

Hallgarten deals with the period up to 1933 relatively briefly. He is aware that during the imperialist period, heavy industry was at best one of the principal lobbies. He is rightly skeptical of the economic worth of colonies, rather too dismissive of imperialism as a "social safety valve," and eminently right in concluding that the only viable



object of German expansion was the Near East, with industry's support, though not necessarily on its initiative.

On the vexed question of industry's role in helping Hitler to power, neither author offers definitive answers. Rightly dissatisfied with H. A. Turner's oversimple question, "Who paid whom?" they nevertheless leave loose ends. It may have been "typical" of the Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie to prefer Krupp to the pragmatic Duisberg of I. G. Farben as president in 1931 (p. 195), but, since this is not interpreted as a reversion to old rivalries (pp. 259, 288), why typical, and with what effect? The abrupt assertion that, structurally, German capitalism had "cut off or paralysed all alternatives to Nazism" (p. 12) does scant justice to the subtlety of their detailed presentation.

Radkau takes over in 1933, and the book's center piece is his account of state-industry relations in the Third Reich. The Nazi regime's inherent aggressiveness and its lack of economic policy aims made it heavily dependent on industrial support from the beginning, despite its retrogressive social utopianism. The weight of evidence surely supports the conclusion that "the leading circles of industry were able to pursue their interests . . . to an exceptional degree" under nazism (p. 301).

Hallgarten's and Radkau's arguments, often provocative and rarely politically neutral, are always intelligently presented, and the wealth of well-selected material alone makes their book valuable.

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A. J. RYDER. *Twentieth-Century Germany: From Bismarck to Brandt*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1973. Pp. xviii, 656. \$12.95.

A general history of this type, based entirely on published sources, generally appears under the imprint of a commercial publisher. University presses usually reserve such an indulgence for the rare scholarly titan who has spent a lifetime opening new vistas in his field. Mr. Ryder, an Englishman whose monograph, *The German Revolution of 1918* (1967), provides the basis for his reputation as a historian, is in fact more of a popularizer than a titan of scholarship.

As such, he is a capable writer who knows how to organize his material into a coherent whole. As one regrets, therefore, the absence of references to even published documentary sources—except for a rare nod to the *Grosse Politik* and the listing of some documents in the select bibliography—one marvels at the skill with which it is all put together.

Synthesis without reinterpretation, expression of doubt, or cavil of any sort, is the strength of this work.

It gives the reader a chance to develop a general impression of the quality, direction, and coherence of the historiography of contemporary Germany. On that basis alone, the book should be considered worth reading. Certain weak spots—not necessarily in the narrative, but rather in the available published sources—may be more readily discerned from the overview provided by *Twentieth-Century Germany*. For instance, the Enabling Act of 1933, the legal—or legalistic—foundation of the Third Reich, is discussed in vague terms, as if it were an odd-colored cow that one has just caught a glimpse of while traveling in a fast train. This is not altogether the writer's fault. He has dutifully mentioned the act, as others have before him, and moved on.

Likewise, even the valuable efforts of K. D. Bracher, Erich Matthias, and Rudolf Morsey do not fully explain the sudden demise of the parties or unions in the same period. Ryder himself dealt with one of the most multifaceted episodes in modern German history—the military collapse and revolution of 1918—in his earlier work. Even in that monograph a chronicling of what happened leaves open the question of what people in different circumstances thought happened, and then what they thought about that, and how their behavior was thereby influenced.

While an interdisciplinary approach is considered useful in all fields of history, it may be that these areas in particular require such an approach for the purpose of achieving basic coherence.

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BEVERLY HECKART. *From Bassermann to Bebel: The Grand Bloc's Quest for Reform in the Kaiserreich, 1900–1914*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 317. \$17.50.

Friedrich Naumann, Protestant theologian turned politician preaching democratic reforms, is among the few sympathetic political figures of Wilhelmian Germany. As leader of a short-lived party, editor of a Left-liberal weekly, pastor, indefatigable speaker and organizer, writer, and member of the Reichstag, Naumann strove to transform Germany into a parliamentary democracy by amalgamating the forces of democracy and nationalism. Calling for a party coalition that embraced the Social Democrats, Radicals, and National Liberals—that is, by creating a grand bloc "from Bassermann to Bebel"—Naumann intended to isolate the conservatives, direct the monarchy to head the



elements advocating reform, and thus achieve political modernization along the lines of his British model.

Heckart attempts to explain what chance of success Naumann's scheme had before 1914; whether the political atmosphere was conducive to such an approach; how his plan fared in the dreary world of Reichstag politics; what impact it made; why it eventually failed; and what the consequences of its failure were. Starting with a brief recapitulation of Naumann's idea, the author analyzes the disposition of the parties toward a Bassermann-to-Bebel coalition during the Bülow era, narrates the Badenese experiment in grand bloc politics, and describes its attempted application in the Reichstag.

The main theme of Heckart's study is that after 1900 a party-political democratic unity in the form of a Bassermann-to-Bebel coalition was possible on the national level and that such unity had in fact come about momentarily, only to be destroyed in early 1914 as the result of the obstinacy of the National Liberals over the questions of national defense and social reform. With this failure ended Germany's chance for developing into a parliamentary democracy. "Parliamentary democracy," the author concludes, "was truly necessary for the maintenance of German power in the twentieth century. Its absence led to war, humiliating defeat and the revolution. As the prime obstacles to democratic unity the National Liberals must shoulder the responsibility for this destruction" (p. 287).

Heckart's optimistic assessment for the possibility of Wilhelmian Germany's evolving into a parliamentary democracy is unsubstantiated. In fact many passages in her book document that such a process was unrealistic. On most major issues the bloc parties were unable to maintain a common front. In my opinion the main assumptions and conclusions of the book are the result of a misjudgment of political realities. First of all, Heckart overestimates the actual political significance of the Reichstag; second, she also overestimates the desire of the potential bloc parties to push for "democratic unity" or a parliamentary democracy; and third, she underestimates the actual strength of the conservatives, the bureaucracy, and the monarchy to resist parliamentarization. Naumann's slogan "from Bassermann to Bebel" actually seems to have been more the wishful thinking of a few politicians and a convenient facade for parties lacking the courage of their clichés than a serious guide to political action.

Heckart's book, well written and well organized (although the bibliographical essay is disappointing, as are some of the footnotes), is a useful introduction to the history of the grand bloc idea and aspects of its party-political ramifications.

It is restricted, however, almost exclusively to party politics. Before it is possible to present a convincing exposition of the history of the grand bloc idea—let alone "its setting, development and political implications" (p. 3)—it is necessary to draw heavily upon a detailed sociopolitical analysis of the parties, major interest groups, and the bureaucracy, as well as a thorough investigation of the complex problem of political modernization.

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HANS-JOACHIM SCHOEPS. *Ja—Nein—und Trotzdem: Erinnerungen—Begegnungen—Erfahrungen*. Mainz: v. Hase & Koehler Verlag. 1974. Pp. 286. DM 25.

This book is the third and most revealing in a trilogy of memoirs that Professor Schoeps has published since 1956. It deserves attention as an index to his scholarly work and as a documentation of the changing spirit of recent times. By his sixty-fifth birthday (1974), Schoeps's *oeuvres* included forty-six books (ten of which have been translated into foreign languages), eighteen source collections and editions, 192 articles, and the supervision of fifty-seven Ph.D. dissertations, all of which he lists or annotates in the last chapters.

Besides working as a historian of religion, primarily Judaism and Christianity; of ideas, especially as they affect the spirit of an age; and of politics, usually concerning the Prussian past and conservatism, Schoeps himself became a center of controversy when he took public stands on current issues, which he in turn documented as a *Zeitgeistforscher*. Thus Schoeps's memoirs are not so much an *apologia pro vita sua* as an application of his methods of *Zeitgeistforschung* by which he tries to indicate the climate in which the opinions of a certain period are prevailing. Ideas that hibernate in cold storage may burst into bloom in a hot-house. It is this catalytic and climatic quality of the *Zeitgeist* that Schoeps wishes to make transparent—*veranschaulichen*.

In this context, Schoeps's book covers a multitude of topics. It takes issue with the unhistorical manner in which Thomas Mann "plagiarized" in *Doctor Faustus* (1947) a circular written by Schoeps in 1931. It psychoanalytically explains an impromptu meeting between Schoeps and Ernst Roehm, whom he faced shortly before Roehm's fall with the "Jewish question," and a subsequent attempt by Schoeps to confront Hitler himself with the same question. Equally dramatic, it puts into the historical perspective of such untranslatable terms as "*Zeitgeist*," "*Volksgeist*," and "*Gleichschaltung*" most recent trends by which Schoeps—the most

popular professor at Erlangen University in post-war years—became the first target of student demonstrators whom he dubbed “red sons of brown fathers.”

Schoeps's life work constitutes a learned and long-range response to a revolutionary age of radical change and continuous dislocation by a man who would not renounce his birthrights. He declined to “dissimilate” himself from the German *Kultur* when this was demanded by the Nuremberg Laws in 1935. He refused to give up the “Prussian spirit” as exemplified by the Gerlach brothers, H. Leo, and F. J. Stahl, when his native state was dissolved in 1947. He espoused Humboldt's ideal of higher education when recent reforms adjusted the West German universities to the needs of a consumer society. A *Zeitgeistforscher* who defies the *Zeitgeist* is bound to arouse his contemporaries from their dogmatic slumbers.

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HEINRICH BRÜNING. *Briefe und Gespräche, 1934–1945*. Edited by CLAIRE NIX, with the collaboration of REGINALD PHELPS and GEORGE PETTEE. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1974. Pp. 556. DM 39.80.

The memoirs of the late Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, a work of major importance for the student of German history (see my review in *AHR*, 76 [1971]: 1560–62), unfortunately cover only the period from 1918 to 1934. They tell very little about his formative years and nothing about his role in exile, after he had escaped from Nazi Germany in May 1934, going first to Holland, then to England, and finally settling in the United States. His executrix Claire Nix, a former student of his at Harvard and then his loyal assistant, has now sifted through his correspondence—with the collaboration of Reginald Phelps and George Pettee—and prepared the more important letters and documents for publication. The present volume is devoted to the crucial years 1934–45. A second volume, soon to follow, will go up to 1960. The method of selection used by the editor has recently been criticized by German Brüning experts, but the comprehensive annotations deserve recognition.

Through these letters, interviews, and memorandums, the enigmatic and somewhat remote figure of Brüning becomes much more human than it appeared in the rather chilly prose of his memoirs. The reader is made aware of Brüning's physical frailty, owing to frequently recurring heart trouble, which perhaps also explains his unusual sensitivity. There is once a revealing outburst: “Why have I stormed through life since 1914, al-

ways fighting, almost without pleasure, often very lonely, instead of being happily married and not worrying every day about the fate of my country?” (p. 87). Up to 1939 Brüning exerted a certain influence behind the scenes because of his contacts especially with English statesmen like Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, and Lord Halifax. In several long meetings with Winston Churchill, Brüning explained to him the actual situation under Hitler's dictatorship.

From 1936 on Harvard was Brüning's “home base.” There he lived rather comfortably at Lowell House. He had frequent exchanges of view with some of Harvard's luminaries and enjoyed the contacts with his graduate students. In wartime he was restricted in his travels, since he wanted to retain his German citizenship. He did not seek meetings with leading statesmen, except for one not very fruitful visit with President Roosevelt in November 1939 and occasional contacts with Secretary of State Henry Stimson who held him in high esteem. He was, however, deeply concerned about the future of his country. As long as possible, he kept in touch with leaders of the German Resistance such as Carl Goerdeler and Adam von Trott zu Solz. But he did not wish to become head of a government-in-exile, for he was certain the Germans would want to be ruled after Hitler's demise only by people who had suffered with them under the Nazi dictatorship.

There was another reason for his seemingly aloof attitude. Brüning did not wish to associate with most leaders of the German emigration. He condemned their attitudes again and again. There was only one major exception. He greatly respected and admired Wilhelm Sollmann—the former leader of the Social Democrats in the Rhineland and minister of the interior in the cabinet of Stresemann—with whom he corresponded frequently. There are two recent publications about Sollmann's many-faceted personality and his relations with Brüning: the documents “Heinrich Brüning im Exil: Briefe an Wilhelm Sollmann 1940–1946,” by Thomas A. Knapp in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, 22 (1974): 93–120, and my own comprehensive essay on Sollmann in *Rheinische Lebensbilder*, 6 (1975).

Those who knew Brüning may be surprised and sometimes seriously disturbed by his attitudes and comments in some of these letters. But they will feel confirmed by this publication in their respect for his sincere personality and brilliant intellect.

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JAY W. BAIRD. *The Mythical World of Nazi War Propaganda, 1939–1945*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1975. Pp. xii, 329. \$15.00.

The guiding moral and ideological force behind Nazi propaganda was the heroic myth that the best blood of the German nation, through triumphant struggle against satanic forces, was building a Greater German Reich that would fill men and gods with awe for the next ten thousand years. Propaganda was the party and the party was Hitler—"In the beginning was the world." Hitler and the best blood of the Germans would create a myth, a key to the mysterious symbols with which history provides us about the greatness and decay of peoples. The Nazis would leave this myth as their legacy to the world or would fall fighting for it: "And even if heaven, hell and the world were to be allied against us, / We would hold our heads high and fight until our last man fell wounded" (Baldur von Schirach).

Jay W. Baird has written a useful guide to the Nazi heroic myth. Taking a chronological approach, Baird deals with the myths espoused by Nazi propaganda during the war years. A clearer definition of the concept "myth" would have been in order, but the author is quite successful in his delineation of the themes and visions fabricated by Goebbels's propaganda machine. Baird has interviewed former employees of the propaganda ministry, and these discussions add something to the book, though not as much as one might have expected. The author uses his interview material—only a small part of which appears to have gone into the writing of this book—judiciously and with proper skepticism.

There are two distinct, though closely related, themes in Baird's book. One concerns the leitmotiv—anti-Semitism, the Bolshevik menace, the obsession with Frederick the Great—that dominated the Nazi world view and comprised its mythical world. The treatment of these problems, while often effective, would have been more powerful if the book followed a thematic rather than chronological approach. Baird often quotes striking materials when discussing such subjects, but he could, for example, have told us more about the incredible Nazi obsession with the ghost of Frederick. The second theme that the author undertakes concerns Goebbels's response to such events as the Polish campaign, the battle of France, and Stalingrad. Here Mr. Baird is not really dealing with the "mythical world" of the Nazis, but rather showing how a modern propaganda apparatus confronts the changing fortunes of war. This material is less fresh and striking than the all-too-few pages on the real mythology that the Nazi mentality conjured up: the Jew as a ghetto satan; the Bolshevik-plutocratic conspiracy, directed of course by the Jews; and the death-and-martyr cult of those fallen for the party during the *Kampfzeit*. All these myths tell us more about National Socialism than descrip-

tions of Goebbels's feud with Dietrich or the role of various state secretaries in the propaganda ministry.

Baird points out, partly by quoting amusing examples of Berlin wit, that the Nazi party had fallen in popular esteem by 1943. It does seem to me, however, that there was a certain resurgence in party power and respect in 1944, partly due to the role of the *Gauleiter* as Reich defense commissars, and partly due to the propaganda surrounding the promotion of the *Volkssturm*, at least before December 1944. I disagree that the Tripartite Pact "violated the spirit of the Hitler-Stalin Pact." The 1940 agreement was aimed exclusively against the United States; indeed, the major reason for the Japanese participation in it was Tokyo's hope that the pact, through the good offices of Stalin's friend Ribbentrop, would improve Japanese-Soviet relations. The line goes from the Tripartite Pact to the Japanese-Soviet Neutrality Pact and to Pearl Harbor, not to Barbarossa.

Despite my reservations about Baird's use (or more properly, nonuse) of the concept of myth, and certain disagreements about points of substance, I have found his work to be a major contribution to the study of wartime Nazi propaganda. Here is a splendid and often novel outline of the Nazi propaganda machine being guided by Goebbels and Hitler, confronting an ever harsher reality for which the Nazi elite and the German people were not prepared by the victories of the early wartime period. It is no criticism of the book to say that most of its value is in the sixty pages of notes and bibliography, a remarkable compendium of sources that will be of major use to those of us working on various problems relating to Nazi wartime propaganda. Baird's readable, informative book will help his readers understand a propaganda whose entire rationale was to prepare the German nation for victory or death.

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HERMAN NUNBERG and ERNST FEDERN, editors. *Minutes of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society*. Volume 4, 1912-1918. Translated by M. NUNBERG in collaboration with HAROLD COLLINS. New York: International Universities Press. 1975. Pp. xix, 357. \$20.00.

The Vienna Psychoanalytic Society was established in 1908. It grew from Freud's custom, started in 1902, of meeting on Wednesday evenings with avowed followers and, later, a sprinkling of more or less seriously interested guests. No official records exist until 1906 when Otto Rank became the paid official secretary of the "Psychological Wednesday Society," the first name of the group that assembled regularly with Freud. Rank began

to keep records of the discussions, but not stenographically: "Rather than attempting a precise account of all that was said, Rank seems to have taken extensive notes of the discussion and to have edited them later" (1: xviii). For some years Rank, a man of brilliance, was close, very close, to Freud; in the meetings that he recorded, he sat at Freud's left.

Yet the notes are not always easy to understand—an observation made by one of the editors, Herman Nunberg, in his introduction to the first volume. The papers or shorter communications, which customarily started a meeting, sometimes appear in extremely abbreviated form. In the open exchanges that followed speakers are occasionally reported as discussing portions of the evening's paper that have left no trace behind. Nunberg, who supplied all the footnotes, from time to time must sigh, "This is not altogether clear" (4: 170 n.2), or "Obviously, this sentence is garbled. The recorder seems to have contracted several thoughts into one" (4: 38 n.2).

Some serious textual problems exist: "Our task in translating . . . was complicated by the fact that the discussions are recorded—to a great extent—in somewhat imprecise colloquial Viennese" (1: xiii). Only in this last volume does an acknowledgment appear that the protocols were first transcribed "from the Gothic longhand script in which they were recorded," and not by the translator (p. xvi). Occasional necessary corrections are attributed variously and confusingly to an error in note-taking (4: 39 n.3), or to an error in typing in the original (3: 147 n.1)—but which original? Mrs. Nunberg, the translator, avows twice that she had to guard constantly against changing statements to bring them into accord with later psychoanalytic doctrine; her husband's "careful supervision and his insistence on historical accuracy" saved her (3: xii; 4: xvii). Harold Collins, otherwise unidentified, receives prefatory thanks for work in editing the translation (2: xv). His assistance is acknowledged on the title page of volume 3; on the title page of volume 4 his role has become one of "collaboration" in the translation.

As yet, no intent to print a German text has been announced. Erik Erikson pointed out long ago that a standard edition of Freud can never appear in English. I have tried to check the accuracy of the present translation; the manuscript pages reproduced in volumes 1 and 2 deal, however, with quite straightforward material. One independent attempt to translate some of the passages dealing with Adler's splitting off (K. M. Colby, *American Imago*, 8 [1951]: 231–36) seems generally to agree with the *Minutes* (3: 145–49, 171–72) but this test is not wholly satisfactory. Similarly, the translation in the *Minutes* of the opening of Freud's first pre-

sentation of the Rat Man's case history (1: 222–37) resembles Paul Federn's earlier English version in *The Yearbook of Psychoanalysis* (4 [1948]: 14–20), but was made with one eye on that version.

The present volume is the last of a series, which began to appear in 1962, and contains indexes for all four volumes.

RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD  
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UDO ROBÉ. *Berner Oberland und Staat Bern: Untersuchungen zu den wechselseitigen Beziehungen in den Jahren 1798 bis 1846*. (Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern, number 56.) Bern: Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek Bern. 1972. Pp. 520. 48 fr. S.

Udo Robé's dissertation is a big tome of more than 460 pages of text. It investigates the relations between Bern and the Bernese Oberland during the half century from the defeat of old Bern by the French revolutionary armies in 1798 to 1846 when the Bernese gave themselves a new cantonal constitution. The core of the study is a detailed account of the unrest and disorders in the Oberland in 1814. Events leading up to this year and following it are only sketched in.

The Oberland was an independent canton for a few years during the French-created Helvetic Republic. Yet it never formed a political, economic, or social unit. Differences between the inhabitants of Thun and those in the valleys leading to the lakes of Thun and Brienz were always pronounced and prevented the Oberland from taking a firmly united stand on any issue. Robé attempts to analyze the causes of this disunity; the results are meager. He is somewhat better at describing the consequences of this disunity, namely the loss of Oberland's independence as a canton in 1800, periodic outbreaks of unrest and ensuing punishment at the hands of the Bernese patricians, weak representatives in the cantonal government, talks of secession, and permanent neglect and accompanying economic hardship.

The book represents an enormous amount of work, most of it done in the manuscript sources of the Bernese archives. And yet it is a basically unsatisfactory product. The results of the study are announced early and then endlessly repeated. A study such as this should have a firm statistical, demographic underpinning. None is given. Lacking this, one would expect at least a concise story. Instead we receive a kind of running commentary, interspersed with pages and pages of such quoted source materials as reports, texts of songs, lists of names, and pamphlet excerpts. As a result we have neither a narrative history, nor a collection of documents, nor a compact analytical study but a



disorderly, and therefore exasperating, mixture of all these. The historical society of the canton of Bern would have done itself and the author a service if it had required a thorough rewriting of the manuscript before it accepted it as a volume in its series.

HEINZ K. MEIER  
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DANIEL BOURGEOIS. *Le Troisième Reich et la Suisse, 1933-1941*. Neuchâtel: Éditions de la Baconnière, 1974. Pp. xx, 463. 69 fr. S.

European states with German-speaking populations had grounds for nervousness when the Hitler government was installed in Germany in 1933. Switzerland was no exception. Daniel Bourgeois has proposed to examine the relations between the Third Reich and Switzerland during the years of peace and the first wartime years, until the German-Russian conflict absorbed Hitler's interest.

It was not merely a question of the reaffirmation of Swiss neutrality, as Bourgeois points out. The Swiss Germans were regarded by National Socialists as *Volksdeutsche*—ethnic Germans—and their inclusion in a greater German Reich was a matter of ideology, if not of policy. Relations between the countries were, therefore, conducted not merely on ordinary diplomatic grounds but also on less official, party levels. While Hitler kept the Swiss on tenterhooks about German acceptance of their independence and neutrality, subversive activities and frontier incidents poisoned the atmosphere. The Auslandsorganisation (AO) of the National Socialist party and the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) of the SS intervened.

Bourgeois has sought to identify a developing design of the Reich upon its neutral neighbor. By a competent and meticulous use of the German sources, he has done so. He points out that it became clear to the Nazi leaders that the Swiss were determined to maintain their state. Swiss Germans failed to respond to Nazi propaganda efforts, despite funds appropriated for that purpose by Reich agencies. German newspapers carried on a bitter anti-Swiss campaign, attempting to pressure the newspapers of the small country into carrying fewer British-origin news reports and more from German sources.

The position of Switzerland became delicate after the fall of Poland. The opening of the war in the west, with German troops operating in the vicinity, raised the danger. Plans for a possible invasion of the neutral state were developed but, as Bourgeois indicates, Hitler was realistic enough not to implement them. In fact, Swiss German Nazis were more zealous than the Reich, and the Swiss government acted courageously and reso-

lutely by making wholesale arrests. As Bourgeois suggests, small countries have few options in defending their sovereignty against a neighboring great power, a matter of much concern these days in several parts of the world. His research is thorough, and this volume is a significant contribution to the study of the expansion of the Third Reich.

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JAMES C. DAVIS. *A Venetian Family and Its Fortune 1500-1900: The Donà and the Conservation of Their Wealth*. (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, volume 106.) Philadelphia: the Society, 1975. Pp. xiv, 189. \$6.50.

Utilizing a large cache of family papers, supplemented by research in public records, James Davis has explored the history of the Donà, an ancient Venetian family, over twelve generations. The Donà belonged to the middle stratum of Venice's nobility, being less numerous and wealthy and less prominent politically than the Morosini or the Contarini. Two critical turning points in the family's history occurred around 1600, when the Donà abandoned commerce for landowning, and in the mid-nineteenth century, when their livelihood as *rentiers* was threatened by reforms inspired by the French Revolution and industrialization. The most interesting and original chapters (5 and 6) describe the techniques devised by the Donà before 1750 to conserve their patrimonies by entailing land, excluding daughters from inheritance, and restricting marriages. The concluding chapters show how this tenacious family preserved its wealth and status during and after unification; the Donà still live in their ancestral palace on the Fondamente Nuove.

Written with economy and clarity, this monograph raises important questions that are not fully resolved by the data. The extant Donà papers do not pertain to the whole lineage but only to certain branches, and those intermittently. Thus, the demographic sample is too small to be statistically meaningful, and on such fundamental issues as wealth the evidence is imprecise. How typical was this small family of the Venetian nobility or of other European aristocracies? While he denies that the Donà can be considered a prototype (p. xiii), Davis does assume that their experience is relevant for noble classes elsewhere, though the evidence for making comparisons is very meager. His methodology seems quite dated in the light of recent work on Italian family history by David Herlihy, Christiane Klapisch, Burr Litchfield, and William Kent in Florence, and Stanley Chojnacki in Venice. The historical context in which Donà experience is located is sketched very summarily;



the gap between the general and the specific is often disconcertingly wide. Davis's explanation for Donà decisions concerning marriage and inheritance is perhaps too sharply focused upon the preservation of wealth and status; he does not consider other motivations and pressures—social, religious, psychological—that may have influenced their behavior in these centuries. The problem merits deeper and more systematic analysis.

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SERGIO ZOLI. *La Cina e l'età dell'Illuminismo in Italia*. Bologna: Pàtron Editore. 1974. Pp. x, 300. L. 6,000.

During the last thirty years Italian historiography on modern Italy has acquired a new breadth and catholicity of interests. Freed from the ideological limitations imposed first by national myths inherited from the Risorgimento and second by the constraints of fascist "cultural" policies, Italian historians have been looking at their national history not only from different perspectives—on which the Gramscian influence looms large—but have also begun to relate it more and more to developments and movements outside Italy. This has been particularly apparent in the re-examination of the eighteenth century. As Franco Valsecchi noted at the Perugia congress of Italian historians in October 1967, "Preceding [Italian] historiography . . . had studied the problems of the eighteenth century in Italy in terms of the Risorgimento [and] had . . . deprived the history of the . . . *Settecento* of its own *raison d'être*."

The post-1945 approach to the study of the *settecento* is best exemplified by the work of Franco Venturi, whose example is being followed by younger historians. Among them, Sergio Zoli—a student of Ernesto Sestan, Eugenio Garin, and Delio Cantimori—deserves to be noted. He has chosen to investigate Italo-Chinese relations since Italian missionaries first began their penetration of the celestial kingdom, and this study on China and Italy during the Enlightenment is a continuation of an earlier publication, *La Cina e la cultura italiana dal '500 al '700* (1973); together they constitute a two-volume work on the subject.

The examination of sources in this, as in the previous, study is thorough. Little escapes Zoli's scholarly dragnet. But despite the impeccable research and the importance of the subject matter, both volumes are disappointing, for Zoli fails to make clear the scope of interaction between the two cultures. He substitutes quotations for analysis and leans on the heavily documented footnote to prove the point only hinted at in the text.

In the preface to this volume he states that while

Italian interest in China during the eighteenth century followed in the wake of the French, "the China of the Italian Enlightenment had its own dialectic force, culturally diverse and no less incisive than the China found in France" (p. ix). A careful reading of the text, however, does not bring out with any clarity or precision just how the views held and the use made of the Chinese example by Italian writers differed from those of the French.

Perhaps this is caviling. The book probes a hitherto largely ignored influence on the thought of the Italian Enlightenment. As such, it should be of interest to anyone studying the *settecento* and to those concerned with the importance of China as an ideal model for eighteenth-century reformers and critics throughout Europe. The reader will find a thorough survey of the topic described in the title, from the largely intrareligious quarrel over the question of the "Chinese rites" to the views on China held by Antonio Genovesi, Francesco Algarotti, *Il Caffè*, physiocrats like Alfonso Longo and Ferdinando Paoletti, to the criticism of Sinomania expressed by the choleric Giuseppe Baretti. The study fills a lacuna in Italian intellectual history of the *settecento* and represents a useful contribution by a young scholar. It is to be hoped that Zoli will, in the future, distill his profound knowledge of the subject matter into a study that will stand with the best of contemporary scholarship on the Italian Enlightenment.

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ELIZABETH ADAMS DANIELS. *Jessie White Mario: Risorgimento Revolutionary*. Athens: Ohio University Press. 1972. Pp. vii, 199. \$10.00.

Elizabeth Daniels has written an interesting and well-researched study of Jessie White Mario (1832–1906), an Englishwoman who married the Italian federalist Alberto Mario and who labored tirelessly for the republican cause during the Risorgimento. As often happens, however, when dealing with minor figures on the periphery of great movements, there is considerable difficulty finding enough to say. This particular volume runs to 131 pages of text, and much of it is filled with needlessly long quotations. The author herself, moreover, finds little justification for the book other than to say she found Jessie Mario "irresistible." One wonders whether this Risorgimento heroine was worth an article or a volume.

One may justify, of course, the biography of a secondary individual to illuminate a critical episode or to explain further some significant aspect of a story that had been neglected. Indeed the author does attempt to weave her subject within

the fabric of the Risorgimento. Unfortunately, however, her command of events—leaving aside the thorny problems of interpretation—must be found wanting. For example, when discussing the pressures on Napoleon III to conclude an armistice with the Austrians after the battle of Solferino on June 24, 1859, she fails to mention the ominous sign of Prussia's mobilization; when dealing with the Expedition of the Thousand, she repeats the myth that Garibaldi had the "tacit" approval of Cavour. We do learn in a footnote, however, that there was "apparently . . . little coordination between the forces of Garibaldi and of Piedmont" (p. 96). Apparently indeed!

If the weaving of events is faulty, the task of stitching together the individual threads that made up the radical cloth of the Risorgimento is more successful. Daniels is at her best when describing the political and social vision of Mazzini or Cattaneo—how they differed, how they reacted to a particular turn of events, and on what issues they were prepared to compromise. But even here we learn little about the limitations of the noble aspirations of the radicals—how they failed to understand the peasant mentality, how many were co-opted by the Moderates, and why in the end their vision failed to sustain them. In brief we now know a great deal more about Jessie White Mario; but nothing new has been added to our understanding of the Risorgimento.

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ROBERT KATZ. *The Fall of the House of Savoy: A Study in the Relevance of the Commonplace or the Vulgarly of History*. New York: Macmillan Company. 1971. Pp. xxii, 439. \$12.50.

This work is a popular and generally hostile account of the House of Savoy from about 1878 to 1946. The author's justification for writing the book is that the endurance for so long of anything as "often clownish" and "always mediocre" (p. xiv) as the House of Savoy merits attention.

Part 1, comprising about forty pages, is devoted to a survey of the origins and expansion of the House of Savoy from the Middle Ages to the formation of the kingdom of Italy. The dynasty is traced back to an eleventh-century feudal lord, Humbert the Whitehanded, who is described as assisting the German emperor Conrad II "against the Establishment" (p. 5). For his services Humbert won vast domains on both sides of the Alps, including the county of Savoy, which bore with it the title of count.

About half the book (pts. 3 and 4) chronicles the life of Victor Emmanuel III, and much is made of the king's diminutive size. He is described as "a

shrimp," and the author goes on to contend, "To the extent that men make history, this condition, in a world which he was forced to observe with a worm's-eye view, was to influence Italian history in the first half of the twentieth century at least as much as war, communism, and Mussolini" (p. 157). In my judgment, Katz fails to substantiate his thesis.

The specialist in modern Italian history will find little in this book that is original either in content or interpretation. The general reader interested in Italian history will find the account of the House of Savoy informative, particularly with respect to the relations between Victor Emmanuel III and Mussolini. Both types of readers are likely to find Katz's vocabulary and literary style somewhat jarring.

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GIUSEPPE ARE. *Alle origini dell'Italia industriale*. (Storia: Saggi e ricerche, 6.) Naples: Guida Editori. 1974. Pp. 394. L. 6,500.

KEVIN ALLEN and ANDREW STEVENSON. *An Introduction to the Italian Economy*. (Glasgow Social & Economic Research Studies 1.) New York: Barnes & Noble. 1975. Pp. xii, 300. \$16.50.

FRANCO BONELLI. *La crisi del 1907: Una tappa dello sviluppo industriale in Italia*. ("Studi," number 13.) Turin: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi. 1971. Pp. 240. L. 3,500.

PIERO MELOGRANI. *Gli industriali e Mussolini: Rapporti tra Confindustria e fascismo dal 1919 al 1929*. ("I Marmi," volume 72.) Milan: Longanesi & C. 1972. Pp. 325. L. 3,000.

Interest in the economic history of Italy since unification is attested to by the four volumes that are the subject of this review. These studies illustrate the wide variety, both as to the subject matter selected for study and the nature of the treatment attempted, of the literature on Italy's economic past that is pouring from the presses. They range from a specialized monograph of a relatively small event to a broad synthesis of Italy's total experience, and from theories of economic history to a critical essay on Italy's economic progress.

For the *cognoscenti* in this field the most important of the four volumes are the ones by Are, an instructor at the University of Pisa, and Allen and Stevenson of the University of Glasgow. The former consists of a collection of essays, which had previously appeared in primarily left-wing historical journals. They include criticisms of the work of a great many economists and historians of all the major schools, from Alessandro Rossi, through

Luigi Luzzatti and Quintino Sella, to Rosario Romeo and me. Throughout this work the political orientation of the writer is abundantly clear and so, too, is his penchant for economic theory. In fact, he insists that economic history be cast in a mold of economic theory and will not allow what actually happened to create that mold. The whole concept of "necessary concomitants"—that a variety of factors come together in adequate quantities and with a special timing to effect change—is too broad and imprecise for his taste. The work by Allen and Stevenson is an "economists' history" of the Italian economy from the end of World War II to June 1974. This is an excellent and well-documented analysis of what took place, with emphasis being placed upon both the recovery from wartime destruction and the miracle of economic success. The postscript, which deals with events in the year prior to June 1974, is extremely gloomy, but perhaps it should be.

The volume by Bonelli is, one would judge, the outgrowth of a doctoral dissertation, for it follows the unfortunate Italian stereotypic presentation connected with such a document. It deals primarily with the difficulties that "mixed banks" (those doing a commercial banking and investment business) ran into when funds were short in 1907 and even more specifically with the aid that the Banca d'Italia gave to the Società Bancaria Italiana in its time of trouble. Indeed, this episode was a landmark in the development of central banking in Italy.

Last, the book by Melograni is a rather journalistic account of the relations between industrialists and fascism from the origins of the Fascist movement until 1929. It is written from secondary sources and recounts the well-known balancing act that Mussolini performed among various interest groups in his efforts to get power.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH  
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HARTMUT ULLRICH. *Le elezioni del 1913 a Roma: I liberali fra Massoneria e Vaticano*. (Biblioteca della "Nuova Rivista Storica," number 32.) Milan: Società Editrice Dante Alighieri. 1972. Pp. 119. L. 1,500.

This slim volume concentrates upon the parliamentary elections of 1913 in Rome and their impact upon the Liberals, particularly the followers of Sidney Sonnino. Despite the persistence of the notion that these elections were governed by the "agreement" between Giovanni Giolitti and Vincenzo Gentiloni, Ullrich shows that it was the Conservative-Liberal opposition that received Catholic support in the capital. Indeed, in the first electoral district in Rome, Giolitti fought along-

side the Radicals against the Catholic Electoral Union and the alliance of the Right. Equally interesting, the Radical candidate was supported by Sonnino, the leader of the constitutional opposition, who still clung to the idea of combining reformist, conservative, and liberal elements behind his program.

Sonnino's support of the Radical candidate in the first district, in opposition to the Nationalist-Clerical candidate Luigi Federzoni, served to widen the rift between the leader and his Liberal-Conservative followers, who were not prepared to sacrifice real Catholic support for the "utopian" assistance the Radicals could provide. This paved the way for an alliance between Conservative-Liberals, Catholics, and Nationalists. The author reveals that in Rome this agreement was determined not only by hostility to the extreme Left but also by an opposition to any sort of collaboration with the democratic parties on the Giolittian model.

Ullrich's contribution rests not so much upon the discovery of new facts—although his study is based upon solid, primary source material—but upon the use of local developments to reinterpret larger national issues. His study of the electoral struggle in the Eternal City sheds considerable light upon the Giolittian system, the Sonnino opposition, the emerging Catholic and Nationalist movements, as well as the appearance of a new constitutional alternative under the leadership of Antonio Salandra.

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ARIANE LANDUYT. *Le sinistre e l'Aventino*. (Istituto Nazionale per la Storia del Movimento di Liberazione in Italia.) Milan: Franco Angeli Editore. 1973. Pp. xvi, 495. L. 7,000.

One of the seven hills of Rome, the Aventine, has become associated with political protest in Italy, thus giving its name to one of the more dramatic episodes in the crisis that followed the assassination of the Socialist deputy Giacomo Matteotti in June 1924. Ariane Landuyt, who teaches contemporary history in Florence, has written an account of the Aventine episode that is to be highly recommended to scholars having a special interest in the history of Italian Marxist parties, the labor movement, and the origins of the clandestine opposition to fascism.

The Aventine secession occurred when a group of anti-Fascist deputies left the chamber in protest against the suspected complicity of Mussolini's government in the assassination of Matteotti. It was one of those splendid gestures of moral indignation whose appeal fades as rapidly as the passions that provoked it subside. Fifty years after

the event, the political errors of the secessionists stand out more clearly than their moral courage. This changing perspective goes a long way toward explaining Landuyt's highly critical judgment of the secessionists. Their basic weakness was their political heterogeneity. Made up of a congeries of Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Democratic Liberals, and Catholics, the Aventine could agree on very little beyond the desirability of ousting the Fascists from power. They disagreed on whether they should proclaim themselves a functioning anti-parliament, take to the streets, or work through established institutions, ousting Mussolini with a coup or waiting for him to fall as he became progressively more isolated. Not surprisingly, political immobility resulted and with it the unrealistic expectation that the king would take the initiative to remove Mussolini from office.

Landuyt couples her criticism of the Aventine's legalitarian tactics with an in-depth exploration of political infighting within the Aventine and a ringing condemnation of the Aventine's failure to lead the masses in an open struggle against fascism. She evaluates the Aventine's performance from a leftist perspective that seldom degenerates into partisan diatribe. Her handling of the Communist position is revealing in this respect. She agrees with the Communists that illegal means could legitimately be used in the struggle against fascism and approves of the Communist decision to abandon the Aventine once it became clear that the moderates were in control. But she does this without trying to hide the fact that the Communists did not hesitate to use the Aventine for their own partisan purposes and were mostly interested in embarrassing the Socialists ideologically, infiltrating their labor unions, and posing as the only true friends of labor. In the process, they were the only group that seriously prepared itself for underground resistance and established close contacts at the factory level strong enough to resist Fascist repression.

It is possible to agree with the author that the Communists devised the formula for fighting fascism from within, without also sharing her judgment that the moderate Socialists erred in their refusal to countenance insurrection. It does not follow that, simply because the Communists may have been vindicated in the long run, a coup carried out by a few hundred desperados would have toppled Mussolini in 1924, particularly when the author's own evidence indicates that the planning of the would-be conspirators left much to be desired. Still, it would be unfair to end a review of this book on a negative note. Its strengths clearly outweigh its weaknesses, one of which is excessive length in relation to the ideas developed in it. The strengths of the book are nowhere more evident

than in the author's penetrating discussion of the ideological splits among Marxist groups in the Aventine.

ROLAND SARTI  
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JOHN T. A. KOUMOULIDES. *Cyprus and the War of Greek Independence, 1821-1829*. Rev. ed.; London: Zeno. 1974. Pp. xiii, 117. Cloth £4.00, paper £3.00.

The lovely Mediterranean island that is Cyprus has had a checkered and colorful history to which, according to the author, insufficient attention has been paid. Yet perhaps there is reason for this in the fact that its fate has been that of a pawn in the activity of larger entities. The incontestable Greekness of Cyprus has survived the overlay of alien cultures mainly based on the neighboring Asiatic mainland, but also European.

More recently Cyprus has been under Turkish rule, a rule that was on the whole tolerant in matters religious, making use of a generally willing—because it found it advantageous to itself—Greek religious establishment. The Greek aspect of the island was thereby preserved, but in the domain of administration, inefficiency and exactions were the most characteristic aspects of the Turkish period.

Given the geographical location of the island, the possibility of its sharing in the initial war of Greek independence was small. Its participation was confined to some material assistance and volunteers that went to Greece. Yet this sufficed to induce savage repression by the unusually brutal Kütchük Mehmed. The heart of the book tells that story, a dismal one that calls to mind the unspeakable Turk. It was essentially a one-sided operation, different from the reciprocal atrocities that marked the war in Greece proper, different also from the more recent situation. As a consequence, the already miserable condition of the local economy was further depressed.

The dimensions of the book correspond to those of the episode. The difficulty stemming from the fact that there is no distinct Cypriot nationality has recently received additional confirmation from the failure of the attempt to set up an independent Cyprus. The events of the 1820s remain a small episode about which it is unlikely much more can be said even when fuller sources, the Turkish especially, become available.

RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ  
Columbia University

V. I. FREIDZON, editor. *Voprosy pervonachal'nogo nakopleniia kapitala i natsional'nye dvizheniia v slavyanskikh stranakh* [Problems of the Initial Accumulation of



Capital and National Movements in Slavic Countries]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Slavianovedeniia i Balkanistiki.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1972. Pp. 275.

What is the so-called primitive accumulation of capital? According to Marx, the capitalist system presupposes the separation of laborers from the means of production, land and capital. The process that clears the way for the capitalist system, the process that dispossesses the laborer from the means of production, is then the "prehistoric" stage of capitalism. What appears to the Western historian as "emancipation from serfdom and from the fetters of the guilds" appears to the Marxian as "expropriation" of the freedmen in order that he may become a wage earner and as the "transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation" (Karl Marx, *Capital* [rpt., 1954], 1: 713).

The book under review contains twenty-seven papers presented at a conference organized in the USSR in January 1969. Only six papers deal with the "genesis of capitalism," that is, the liquidation of feudalism, and with what the Marxians call "primitive accumulation." The other twenty-one papers are grouped into three main topics: the movements of national liberation, the international relations and the interrelations between the southern and western Slavs, and the formation of national cultures. The papers are poorly assorted within these groups. Notwithstanding the general title of the entire collection, the very first paper deals with the formation of capitalism in Central and Eastern Europe; this is followed by two papers on Bulgaria, one on Poland, one, not quite well focused, on the Czech lands, and one on Serbia. Nothing is said from this point of view about Slovakia, present-day Slovenia, Croatia, or Bosnia and Herzegovina. A few of the "precapitalist" changes in some of these latter lands are noted in the other groups of papers; namely in the discussions on the national liberation movements, international relations, and cultural changes.

The introductory paper by A. N. Chistozvonov, which sets the framework of the discussion and defines the "genesis of capitalism," surveys briefly the blossoming of capitalism through the "manufacturing period" in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and the beginning of the "factory system" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The only authorities used by Chistozvonov are Marx, Engels, Lenin, and two obscure Soviet writers, P. P. Schegolev and S. D. Skazkin. Obviously the Russians have not heard anything at all about the lively, one might say exploding, discussions on the origins and spread of modern eco-

nomic growth carried out particularly by the British economic historians, who follow the trail blazed by the pioneering works of the Nobel laureate Simon Kuznets. In fact, the authors of each of these papers rely massively either on Marx and Engels or on national Marxian authorities; throughout the collection very few national "bourgeois" writers or old foreign historians are quoted.

Out of the twenty-seven papers, twenty-six were written by Soviet scholars and one by a Yugoslav historian; this undoubtedly qualifies the symposium as "international." As usual in the case of conferences, the papers are unequal in quality and interest; none, however, is particularly deserving of note. The whole collection is nevertheless interesting, in as much as it shows the level of Soviet scholarship in an important field of economic history.

NICOLAS SPULBER  
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I. I. MESHCHERIUK. *Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitiie bolgarskikh i gagauzskikh sel v Iuzhnol Bessarabii (1808-1856 gg.)* [The Socioeconomic Development of Bulgar and Gaguzi Villages in Southern Bessarabia (1808-1856)]. (Akademiia Nauk Moldavskoi SSR, Institut Istarii.) Kishinev: Redaktsionno-izdatel'skii Otdel Akademii Nauk Moldavskoi SSR. 1970. Pp. 341.

The scholarly literature on the peasantry in Bessarabia has grown considerably since the end of the Second World War, when Romania ceded the province to the Soviet Union. Yet, in spite of that abundance, this work is the first to concern itself systematically with the emigrants from the lower Danube Valley who settled in southern Bessarabia—the Budžak—in the early decades of the nineteenth century. Arriving in two main waves, during and after the Russo-Turkish wars of 1806-12 and 1828-29, and consisting mostly of Bulgarians and Gagauzes, the new colonists received generous amounts of land and a special, semi-autonomous administration that stimulated economic initiative and brought relative prosperity. Indeed, agricultural organization and productivity are the main questions that concern the author as he traces the socioeconomic development of the new settlements down to 1856, when half the Budžak was returned to Moldavia by the Peace of Paris.

The work is divided into four parts. The first deals with the organization of the new settlements, especially the system of landholding and the size of the plots, the legal status of the colonists—better, says Meshcheriuk, than that of most of the other inhabitants of Bessarabia—and their provisioning with animals, tools, and other necessities. There



follows a detailed examination, replete with statistics, of the main branches of agriculture: animal husbandry, cereal crops, and viticulture. Of particular interest is the next, brief chapter on the cottage history, which supplied the settlers with most of the household goods they needed; the handicrafts that developed outside the home and provided them with farm tools, wagons, and better quality clothing, all of which required specialized skills to make; and the small manufacturing enterprises established to process agricultural raw materials and produce building materials for local needs. Yet, as Meshcheriuk points out, industry did not thrive, for capital was invested in agriculture and commerce because of the high return they offered. To some extent, the play of the market also impeded industrial development—while the foodstuffs of the Budžak found a ready outlet in the central Russian gubernia, its manufactured goods could not compete with other sources of supply. The final section deals at length with the development of capitalism in agriculture, a process that, according to the author, was impeded by the laws prohibiting the alienation of land and by the absence of a large labor force.

Meshcheriuk has based his work on the extensive use of unpublished materials, especially from Bessarabian archives, and a rich published literature in Russian. In describing internal conditions in the Budžak he is scholarly and judicious. His thoughts on the theoretical aspects of capitalist development, however, are less persuasive. He has carefully limited his purview to the Budžak, but we do learn a bit about the overall colonization policies of the Russian government and the integration of the region into the general economic life of the country. But this study would have been enhanced and its conclusions made more meaningful if the author had extended his scope to include a comparison of conditions in the Budžak with those in the rest of Bessarabia and had placed the whole in a broad Russian context.

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A. A. ULUNIAN. *Bolgarskii narod i rusko-turetskaia voina, 1877–1878 gg.* [The Bulgarian People and the Russo-Turkish War, 1877–1878]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR. Institut Slavianovedeniia i Balkanistiki.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1971. Pp. 203.

Ulunian's book, originally a dissertation presented at the University of Sofia in 1969, is an effort to detail and document the role Bulgarians played in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78, which is an aspect the existing historiography has by and large neglected. As a Soviet historian, Ulunian imposes

on the subject a Russian perspective and framework. In the three chapters of the book he deals with the Russian high command and the initial military operations, the participation of Bulgarians in the operations and the various kinds of assistance given to the Russian forces, and the reports of the Russian press concerning Bulgarian affairs during the war. The extensive bibliography of mostly Russian and Bulgarian sources includes archival materials, although listing them after the writings of the "classics of Marxism-Leninism" and the leaders of the Bulgarian Communist party suggests an aprioristic approach that places greater value on the views of ideologues than on primary sources. The introduction also contains a discussion of the historiography of the war, which adds to the value of the bibliography.

The general outlines of the story and its main feature, the formation and operations of the Bulgarian Volunteer Corps (*Opŭlchenie*), are known and are not retraced by Ulunian. What he does is to supply a great deal of detail gathered from archives and from the contemporary press in Russian and Bulgarian. As a result, we can see the extent to which Russian military intelligence relied on Bulgarians as spies in the Turkish rear, as scouts, and as guides through unfamiliar terrain in the Balkan mountains. Russians also showed interest in the possibility of a "partisan people's war," in the language of a contemporary source, but settled for guerrilla units to provide an opportunity to those who wanted to fight and to create the backbone of an army of the future Bulgarian state. How unobstructed such activities were is suggested by the fact that even the well-known Russian consul, A. N. Tseretelev, who became chief of Bulgarian spies and scouts, at one point disguised himself as a Bulgarian peasant and ventured into a Turkish camp. It was to no one's surprise that within months Turkey lost the war in which Bulgarians obtained their freedom.

A more comprehensive undertaking than Ulunian's would have covered the contemporary Western press as well and might have given space to the part played by Alexander von Battenberg, who was not yet a Bulgarian but who became the first prince of Bulgaria largely because of his part in the war. Ulunian's study is, however, a good sample of the spadework on Bulgarian history done in the Soviet Union, some of which originates in the republics of the Black Sea area.

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FREDERICK B. CHARY. *The Bulgarian Jews and the Final Solution, 1940–1944.* [Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1972. Pp. xiv, 246. \$9.95.

Chary's book is a sort of "whodunit" in reverse. Who was responsible for preventing the murder of fifty thousand Bulgarian Jews? In a restrained, skillful way Chary lets the reader watch the gruesome roundup and deporting of twenty thousand Jews from Bulgarian-occupied Thrace, Macedonia, and Pirot—the inevitable consequence of the German alliance and the privilege of occupation. Next comes the suspense involving plans for deporting the Jews of Bulgaria and efforts to head this off. The thwarting of the "final solution" comes almost as an anticlimax.

In the midst of the Jewish problem is a smaller murder mystery—"Who (or what) killed King Boris?" Chary goes into this at considerable length because it is related to the larger question. One theory is that Boris was done in because he favored the "final solution." Another is that he became the victim of his support of the Jews. Neither theory holds water. My own investigations agree with Chary's, that King Boris died of natural causes.

Chary has meticulously researched his subject, making especially good use of the former Alexandria German documents and Israeli sources, published and unpublished, and oral interviews. Chary used all the Bulgarian material to which he had access. Subsequently his conclusions were challenged in Sofia, where he was charged with failure to use archival material to which he had been refused access.

One might question Chary's devotion in detail. The discrepancy of even one in his statistics of deportees from occupied lands impels him to track down the missing person.

How did Bulgaria's Jews escape the liquidation? Legends die hard. One such is that King Boris was responsible for saving the Jews. Most of those who believe this will probably continue to do so despite Chary's book. Other explanations include the opposition of the Church, notably the Metropolitans Stefan of Sofia and Kiril of Plovdiv; or popular non-anti-Semitic outcry, the *vox populi* (the Communists?). What is Chary's final solution? He begs the question by stating there can be no answer. He argues the Jews were not saved because the agreement of February 22, 1943, between Dannecker and Belev was not applied in Bulgaria. His explanation is the various political pressures on the Sofia government. He proves the key role of mostly government supporters in the assembly whose opposition triggered the chain of events that aborted the "final solution."

Ironically, credit for the survival of Bulgaria's Jews must go to the Germans: their inability, initially, to cope with the logistic problems involved and, most important, the steadily deteriorating German military situation.

Chary's *Bulgarian Jews* may be read with profit

by those whose interests are not confined to Bulgaria or to Jews.

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LUCIAN BOIA. *Eugen Brode (1850-1912)*. Bucharest: Editura litera. 1974. Pp. 211. Lei 13.50.

Although much has been written in Romanian historiography on the Romanian national movement in Transylvania, most of this literature has ignored the period between the end of the Memorandum crisis in the early 1890s and the outbreak of the First World War. This omission has not been an arbitrary one since the period was one in which the Romanian national movement appeared relatively dormant.

Lucian Boia's work is thus of particular value and interest. In a very carefully researched study based on an imposing array of not easily accessible archival material, the author devotes much attention to this relatively "unheroic" twenty-year period prior to 1914. In particular, he discusses in considerable detail the trend during this period toward reconciliation, however tentative, between the Transylvanian Romanians and the Hungarians. Symbolic of this trend was Eugen Brode, the personage around whom Boia develops his narrative. Brode's leading role during the Memorandum crisis did not prevent him from subsequently becoming a strong advocate of Hungarian-Romanian reconciliation. Of particular interest is the author's attempt to show that the post-Memorandum trend toward a Romanian-Hungarian reconciliation simultaneously permitted a growing identity of aims in Transylvania between the Romanian nationalists and the new Romanian and Hungarian socialist movements (pp. 167-70). As national aims receded into the background, such other preoccupations as the demand for universal suffrage became more important. It is by discussing such hitherto insufficiently emphasized aspects of Romanian-Hungarian relations that this monograph performs its greatest service. It does much to correct the misleading impression, so often conveyed by previous authors, that the Memorandum crisis in its explicit challenge to Greater Hungary was simply a direct prelude to Transylvania's union with Romania a generation later.

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ERVIN PAMLÉNYI, editor. *A History of Hungary*. Translated by LÁSZLÓ BOROS *et al.* (Compiled under the auspices of the History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.) London: Collet's. 1975. Pp. 676. £4.95.

This is not the first history of Hungary in English but the earlier works are mostly dated and out of print, and even if they are available and as modern as, for instance, C. A. Macartney's *Hungary: A Short History* (1962), they are too brief to be of real value to anyone but the casual reader. The present volume is of undoubted interest even to the specialist, enriched as it is with ninety-two plates, sixteen maps, brief biographies of outstanding Hungarians, a detailed chronology, and a good bibliography of works in Western languages. The text itself is a much improved, albeit abbreviated, version of the now standard two volume *Magyarország története* (History of Hungary), published in Budapest in 1964, and some new names appear among the contributors to this one-volume edition. All are members of the History Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and represent the best in modern Hungarian historical scholarship. László Makkai figures as author of the entire period from the beginnings of Magyardom to 1790, with István Barta, Péter Hanák, Zsuzsa L. Nagy, Iván T. Berend, György Ránki, and Miklós Lackó being responsible, successively, for the subsequent periods. Because all the latter historians are prolific writers who plunge into their specialty with zeal, the focus of the book shifts a bit too unevenly to the last 180 years of Hungarian history. Almost two-thirds of the text is devoted to the modern age.

With about two thousand years of tortured history to account for, and with a prospective readership that conceivably knows nothing of Hungary, the authors occasionally overwhelm us with data and names, while, as befits Marxist historians, they do not shun broad generalizations and hard conclusions. Their style is perfectly adequate, as is the English translation, accomplished by a team of Hungarian experts and a second team of Hungarian-speaking native Anglo-Saxons. The reader would look in vain for the dramatic historical accounts or colorful human portraits so dear to the preceding generations of Hungarian historians. What we get instead is a conscientious briefing in political and economic history, with occasional and often excellent excursions—especially those by Hanák—into social and cultural history. Makkai's rendering of the Hungarians' difficult passage from tribal, to feudal, to precapitalist societies is as impeccable as are his descriptions of medieval Hungarian greatness, the subsequent tragedies of Turkish occupation, Christian liberation and Habsburg absolutism, and the encouraging accomplishments of eighteenth-century enlightened despotism. The other authors explain thoroughly the reforms and revolution of the first half of the nineteenth century, the moral and political decline and dazzling economic progress of the second half of the same century, the intellectual

revival of the early twentieth century, the miseries of World War I, the democratic, Communist, and White counterrevolutionary upheavals, the inter-war period, and Hungary's inexorable slip into the catastrophe of World War II. Paradoxically, the Trianon Peace Treaty of 1920 is decried as unjust but not so the Paris Peace Treaty of 1946, where the Soviet Union was a participant and the injustices of 1920 were reconfirmed. It is with the events of the early 1940s that truth and what the authors tell us begin to part ways; by the time we reach the late 1940s, the parting is almost complete. It is comforting to have Lackó, author of the last chapter, denounce "the enormous political and economic errors" made between 1948 and 1956; but it is heartbreaking to have this fine historian accuse the leaders of the Smallholders' party of conspiring against the nation that gave them the absolute majority of votes at the free parliamentary elections of 1945, to have him slander the Hungarian Independence party of the bourgeois-democrat Zoltán Pfeiffer as "openly extreme-right wing," to have him argue that, notwithstanding the election results, the Hungarians supported the Communist take-over almost to a man, to have him ignore the show trial of Cardinal Mindszenty and the execution of Imre Nagy, and to have him suggest that the armed Soviet intervention in Hungary dates from November 4, 1956, and not October 23. Were it not for the last chapter—and for some outrageous falsifications in the brief biographies—we could celebrate this volume, as the very best and the most useful of all Hungarian histories.

ISTVAN DEAK  
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DAVID B. QUINN and NEIL M. CHESHIRE, edited and translated with commentaries by. *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius: The Life and Writings of a Hungarian Poet, Drowned on a Voyage from Newfoundland, 1583*. [Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1972. Pp. xii, 250. \$8.50.

Given Hungary's geographical location, it is only natural that Hungarians have failed to distinguish themselves in the area of seafaring and maritime explorations. Thus, discounting a number of unsubstantiated claims about Hungarian travelers in pre-Columbian America, the first Hungarian to visit this continent was Stephen Parmenius of Buda (ca. 1555/60–83), who joined Sir Humphrey Gilbert's second expedition in 1583 and then drowned along with Gilbert off Sable Island near Newfoundland.

But not even Parmenius was an "explorer" in the traditional sense of that term. He was a young Protestant scholar and poet, and an accomplished

Latinist, who was drawn to Oxford in order to further his studies and to broaden his experiences. Once in England, however, he became acquainted with Richard Hakluyt and, through Hakluyt, with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who soon persuaded the young Hungarian to accompany him on his colonizing effort to North America as a "chronicler," so as "to record in the Latin tongue the gests and things worthy of remembrance."

Parmenius's claim to fame rests largely on two Latin poetic works in praise of the American expedition, and especially on his long and informative letter to Hakluyt about his experiences in America, which he penned about three weeks before his death. While not the most important among the early accounts on North America, Parmenius's description is still valuable, and the two editors should be commended for making it available to modern scholars.

Both of the editors have excelled in scholarship. Their painstaking introductory chapters on Parmenius are the best in any language, as are their meticulously annotated translations of his writings.

The volume also includes nine annotated letters by Maurice Browne, a young English friend of Parmenius, which are essential for the reconstruction of Parmenius's final years. Moreover, the book is complemented by an apparently complete list of related manuscript collections and publications. It is to be lamented that most of the Hungarian titles contain spelling errors. But this flaw cannot detract from the overall value of this work, or from the superb scholarly accomplishments of the two editors.

STEVEN BELA VARDY  
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GYÖRGY SPIRA. *A Hungarian Count in the Revolution of 1848*. Translated by THOMAS LAND. Translation revised by RICHARD E. ALLEN. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1974. Pp. 345. \$14.00.

"All that is necessary," wrote R. G. Collingwood, "is that there should be evidence of how . . . thinking has been done and that the historian should be able to interpret it, that is, should be able to re-enact in his own mind the thought he is studying, envisaging the problem from which it started and reconstructing the steps by which its solution was attempted" (see *The Idea of History* [1956], pp. 312-13). Having found such evidence readily available, the professional historian György Spira quite successfully describes the thought processes and politics of Count István Széchenyi. With great power of expression the author reconstructs—with the aid of his hero's voluminous diary and correspondence—six months in the life of a truly

important historical figure, whom even his fiercest opponent, Louis Kossuth, called the greatest Magyar. Spira also introduces a new thesis that satisfactorily proves the famous count's active participation in the revolution of 1848, his cooperation with Kossuth, and his struggle for Hungary's limited sovereignty.

Count István Széchenyi was an initiator and leader in the reform era that preceded the events of 1848 in Hungary. Not only did he advocate the economic, social, and political modernization of his country, but he dedicated most of his energy and wealth to such purpose. Reform was his vehicle for progress. Széchenyi opposed Magyar separatism because he considered it suicidal for Hungary in light of the strength of both the Habsburgs and the nationalities surrounding the Magyars in the Carpathian basin. In 1848 the count had not abandoned his ideals but now believed that the process of reform should simply accelerate. As his cabinet colleagues adopted more and more radical measures for the pursuance of a *de facto* independent Hungary, Széchenyi's doubts multiplied and culminated in the loss of his rational faculties.

Hungarian historians have argued the correctness of Széchenyi's political stance for a century, and now György Spira joins the grand debate. His Collingwoodian concept of history is so intense that the reader is often forced to identify with Széchenyi. But at times the author turns Magyar Marxist. He condemns Széchenyi for advocating progress without independence and progress in harmony with the House of Habsburg. The author combines forces with the count's contemporary critics, Kossuth and the Radicals, although he describes the opponents of Széchenyi as being less revolutionary than historians have previously thought. The author nevertheless refuses to offer an exclusive class-struggle interpretation but also fails to provide a psychological analysis of his subject's political and mental decline. The end result is a curious mixture of Collingwood and Lenin.

Spira's work, a faithful translation of the 1964 Hungarian version of the same book, contributes to our understanding of 1848 and of Széchenyi's role in those turbulent times. The illustrations are instructive, but the heavy reliance on political cartoons taken exclusively from the radical press may distort some unsuspecting reader's perspective. George Barany brought the story of Széchenyi up to 1841 in *Stephen Széchenyi and the Awakening of Hungarian Nationalism, 1791-1841* (1968); but can the English-speaking community absorb any more Széchenyi books, which now cover the life of the great reformer in the mid-1840s and 1850s?

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ALICE TEICHOVA. *An Economic Background to Munich: International Business and Czechoslovakia, 1918-1938*. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 422. \$27.50.

Dr. Teichova has produced a scholarly monograph representing the results of prodigious research. She has separated her source citations from the general bibliography and included explanations of her numerous abbreviations. Since she made use of Czech sources, her translations are helpful to those not versed in that language. She has made available Czech materials not generally accessible to American students. The book is for specialists rather than for general students of European history. The material is presented in the traditional form. Extensive and detailed statistical tables, charts, and diagrams with keys to them are of great value. The title is a bit misleading, however, for this is an in-depth treatment of foreign investments in Czechoslovakia from 1918 to 1938 and of Czech investments abroad. After an introductory overview of world investment patterns, the study's major thrust is an accounting of Entente investment in Czechoslovakia. The principal thesis is, contrary to the view of some scholars, that the Entente powers did not withdraw their holdings in Czechoslovakia between the Austrian *Anschluss* and the Munich conference but held on until the bitter end when the Nazis took over. This is demonstrated with appropriate data. A most interesting and valuable section is that relating to the acquisition of Skoda by Schneider-Creusot (pp. 190-217). The text may be difficult for some as it is largely an explanation of the tables and other illustrations. Admittedly it is difficult material to write but the style could be improved to make it more readable. The reader is alerted that this is a detailed factual study (p. xix). Teichova apparently preferred to let the reader draw his own interpretations for there are few here, either economic or historical. This is a provocative study as it poses a number of questions in addition to answering others. It fills a gap in our knowledge of the economic relations of the Entente and Czechoslovakia; but to get the total picture it has to be used with other studies dealing with other aspects of the subject.

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RICHARD PIPES. *Russia under the Old Regime*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1975. Pp. xxii, 360. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$6.95.

This original and provocative account of Russian political development by Richard Pipes, former director of the Russian Research Center at Har-

vard University, serves as a vivid reminder that the historian himself becomes a political force as he influences the way societies view one another. Though the survey extends only through the nineteenth century, the old regime stands here as prologue to the new. According to Pipes the evolution of a millennium had produced in Russia by the 1880s the first modern police state, a progenitor of twentieth-century totalitarianism. Incidental comparisons of earlier Russian rulers, policies, and laws with Soviet counterparts impute a ponderous weight to historical conditioning.

The book is topically organized in three chronologically substructured sections dealing with state, society, and the intelligentsia. This leads to some repetition, but the narrative moves briskly; a chronology is appended to assist the general reader who may suffer some confusion as the past is recycled in this compact study. Part 1 describes the growth and perpetuation of a patrimonial political order as Russian rulers extended a proprietary authority over the land and its inhabitants. The state was neither apart from, nor imposed upon, society but grew alongside and "bit by bit swallowed it." Following this section comes an explanation of why none of the major social categories—peasantry, nobility, the "missing bourgeoisie," or the clergy—were able to function as an effective political counterforce limiting tsarist power. The final and shortest section discusses the vital challenge to the system posed by an indigestible intelligentsia. Radical tactics evoked a tsarist reaction that led to a bureaucratic police regimen and a foreclosure on Russian liberalism. Though police rule was tempered by acceptance of Western behavioral norms (as well as by inefficiency), it resulted in the radicalization of Russian society and ultimately in the replacement of the old regime by a new one, schooled by its predecessor as Muscovite tsars had been trained by their former Mongol overlords. The fundamental change took place before the revolutions of this century however; for with the legislation of August 14, 1881—a response to the assassination of Alexander II—"Russia ceased to be an autocratic monarchy in any but the formal sense" (p. 307).

This highly controversial conclusion, like other arresting pronouncements in the work, promises to engage many a reader in lively jousting with the author. But at times the exercised scholar will find himself disarmed. For example, after reading that the nobility shunned bureaucratic service following eighteenth-century reforms which "deprived the monarchy of control over the landed estate" (p. 135), he will eventually come to an acknowledgment that even after these reforms ninety-eight per cent of the nobility "could not dispense with the monarchy's favors; it alone had the jobs, the



pokestia and the serfs needed for its survival" (p. 179).

Control over the landed estate is critical to Pipes's thesis that monopolistic control of land rights was the basis of autocratic power in agrarian Russia. The absence of feudal institutions further differentiated Russian political experience from that of the West; and lack of contractual relationships deprived Russians of a sense of the responsibilities of authority. The very freedom of the Russian boyars to leave the service of rulers is said to have "forced the princes to behave arbitrarily as well" (p. 51). In this curious dialectic, assertions of political independence appear counterproductive at best. The peasant call for freedom (*volia*) is presented as a demand for irresponsibility, and *volia* itself is labeled a "thoroughly destructive concept" (p. 156).

A discussion of the peasantry that strips the past of sentimental overlay provides a number of perceptive insights but also some harsh judgments. It may be helpful to reject the notion that the *muzhik* was psychologically attached to the unrewarding land, but it does not follow that his desire to acquire landed property was motivated by a wish to join the exploiters. To insist that the Russian serf was not a slave is to draw a distinction of questionable significance; and the claim that mistreatment of serfs has been exaggerated, while plausible, is not well supported by the suggested evidence. More important, it seems at times that value judgments derived from an analysis of a political system have been applied to an entire populace and that the patrimonial mentality may not be the only one reluctant to distinguish state from society.

Yet even those inclined to take issue with Professor Pipes on specific points, or to protest his political predestination of a people, will readily pay tribute to his achievement in constructing this richly detailed panorama of an occidental despotism. His command of a wide range of sources will be apparent to readers familiar with Russian history, although formal documentation is limited and there is no bibliography. A lavish center insert of fifty-two illustrations embellishes the text.

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N. G. SLADKEVICH, editor. *Problemy obshchestvennoi mysli i ekonomicheskoi politiki Rossii, XIX-XX vekov: Pamyati Professora S. B. Okunia* [Problems of Social Thought and Economic Policy in Russia, 19th-20th Centuries: In Memory of Professor S. B. Okun']. (Leningradskii Ordena Lenina i Ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni Gosudarstvennyi Universitet imeni A. A. Zhdanova.) Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Leningradskogo Universiteta. 1972. Pp. 196.

Semen Bentsianovich Okun', who died in 1972, taught for more than thirty years at Leningrad University. He was probably best known in this country for his work on Russian colonization in North America. The present volume is a collection of twelve articles published as a memorial to Professor Okun'. It includes a summary of his professional career by his colleagues at Leningrad University, V. V. Mavrodin and N. G. Sladkevich, and a bibliography of his writings.

The articles deal with a variety of topics in Russian economic and political history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; they are arranged, for some reason, in reverse chronological order. Among the contributors are several familiar names, such as P. A. Zaionchkovskii and S. N. Valk, as well as Mavrodin and Sladkevich. As usual in a volume of this sort, the articles vary in length and quality; they are narrowly focused and will appeal primarily to specialists. I found particularly interesting Zaionchkovskii's account of how Alexander III's government curtailed the administrative and judicial autonomy of the Baltic German landowning class. The government pressed its Russification policies in this area despite the fact that they were undermining the position of the social class that provided the most reliable support for the monarchy.

This volume provides yet another illustration of the virtues and defects of contemporary Soviet historiography. On the one hand, most of the articles are based on archival research and are finely detailed. On the other, the interpretive categories applied to this careful research often blur meaningful distinctions. The use of concepts like the "landowner-bourgeois camp" and the "gentry-monarchist conception of history," not to mention the unqualified and uncritical application of such terms as "capitalism" and "bourgeoisie" to nineteenth-century Russia, does little to illuminate Russia's complex historical development. The more meticulous the research, the more glaring the disparity becomes.

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D. L. VATEISHVILI. *Russkaia obshchestvennaia mysl' i pechat' na Kavkaze v pervoi treti XIX veka* [Russian Social Thought and Publishing in the Caucasus during the First Third of the 19th Century]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut istorii, arkheologii i etnografii im. I. A. Dzhavakhishvili, Akademii nauk Gruzinskoi SSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 457.

From the opening obligatory citation of Lenin to the index of names (rarely found in Soviet mono-

graphs), Vateishvili's analysis of the first Russian newspaper in the Caucasus maintains an enviable standard of scholarship and offers definitive answers to some minor questions. For five years, 1828–32, the official periodical *Tiflisskie vedomosti* (Tiflis Bulletin) appeared weekly in a society noted for its hostility to independent journalism and provided its readers with articles that the poet Alexander Pushkin praised as “of real and European interest.” Through a detailed discussion of the men who edited and wrote for the newspaper, as well as an investigation of the articles themselves, Vateishvili demonstrates that the Tiflis paper offered its readers not only “reactionary” fare, like that served up by the infamous “reptile” press of St. Petersburg, but also provided more “progressive” material, which stressed particularly the ethnic richness of the peoples of the Caucasus.

Caucasia in the first third of the nineteenth century was still being conquered and consolidated by Russian arms, and a principal objective of the founders of *Tiflisskie vedomosti* was to propagandize the achievements of the tsarist army and emphasize the military cooperation of Georgians and Russians. When the newspaper first appeared Russia was engaged in yet another war with Turkey, and news from the not-too-distant front made up much of the paper's copy. Censorship prevented any hint of dissent from appearing in print. Therefore resistance by Georgian peasants to the draft, for example, went unreported.

Despite its official character and the strict limits placed on its writers, the Tiflis Russian newspaper managed to attract contributors of distinction. Among the noble officers and officials serving in “warm Siberia,” as Caucasia was then known, were some real exiles—the ill-fated participants in the Decembrist revolt. In the decade following the events of 1825 it was rare indeed when Decembrists could find an outlet for their written work, and yet in Tiflis they managed to publish in the local paper. Even after the arrest of the editor, Vasilii Dmitrievich Sukhorukov, in early 1830 his fellow Decembrists continued to meet and write, despite official pressure. Their contribution according to Vateishvili was to introduce Caucasian readers to the “other Russia,” the Russia that stood in opposition to the autocracy of Nicholas I.

Vateishvili's focus is firmly fixed on the newspaper itself, and he fails to deal adequately with the complex intellectual and political world of early nineteenth-century Russia and Caucasia. The central theme of Russo-Georgian friendship is stressed so hard that the tensions between the new overlords and their subjects are missed entirely. There is no discussion of the impact Russian bureaucratic paternalism had on Georgian social structure and traditions. It would be impossible

from this work to understand why Georgian nobles and intellectuals plotted in 1832 to rid themselves of their Russian masters and restore the Georgian monarchy. Among the conspirators was Solomon Ivanovich Dodashvili, who just three years earlier had edited the short-lived *Tbilisis utshebani*, the Georgian edition of *Tiflisskie vedomosti*. Despite these shortcomings, Vateishvili's study adds much to our knowledge of printing, publishing, and public opinion in the Caucasus and exhibits some of the caution and diligence of serious Soviet historians.

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M. V. NECHKINA *et al.*, editors. *Revolutsionnaia situatsiia v Rossii v 1859–1861 gg.* [The Revolutionary Situation in Russia, 1859–1861]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Istorii SSSR.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “Nauka.” 1974. Pp. 382.

This is the fourth volume in a series of articles by members of a study group of the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences devoted to the “revolutionary situation in Russia at the end of the 1850's and beginning of the 1860's.” The head of the group, the Academician M. V. Nechkina, also serves as the chief editor. Like its predecessor, this collection bears the stamp of Nechkina's interpretation that the great reforms of the 1860s were “the by-product” of a revolutionary situation that is defined in Lenin's aphorism “The lower classes will not live as before and the ruling class cannot govern as before.”

The division of the articles into four main sections—“Socioeconomic Development and the Mass Movement,” “The Crisis at the Top,” “The Revolutionary Movement,” and “The Liberal Movement”—reproduce this formula. Most of the articles are tied to the central theme in a loose or even mechanical way. In substance they are detailed monographs on narrow topics ranging from V. N. Neupokoev's “Reorganization of the Landless Gentry in Lithuania into a Taxable Estate of Freeholders and Citizens (during the Second Third of the Nineteenth Century)” to the late V. N. Rozental's “Russian Liberals in the 1850s (The Socio-Political Views of K. D. Kavelin in the 1850s and Early 1860s).” Their merit lies mainly in exploring some of the lesser-known provincial manifestations of peasant and student disturbances and in citing heretofore unused archival material. There is a final section dealing with unpublished source material. Over all, the quality of the articles is a cut below those in previous volumes and signals that the point of diminishing returns has been reached in this quest. Although the entire enterprise has provided a good deal of new factual material, there has been very little real integration

or interaction among the contributors. Predictably, they all dutifully carry out their chore of showing how Nechkina's original formulation, itself a restatement of Lenin's, cannot be modified or improved in any way. This kind of intellectual conformity is hardly likely to stir up any new insights into the complex issues of this rich period in Russian history.

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JUTTA SCHERRER. *Die Petersburger Religiös-Philosophischen Vereinigungen: Die Entwicklung des religiösen Selbstverständnisses ihrer Intelligenci-Mitglieder (1901–1917)*. Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte, volume 19. Berlin: Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin. 1973. DM 88.

The cultural and intellectual flowering in Russia on the eve of World War I is a well-known fact whose belated impact can be detected in Soviet dissident culture. By common consensus, the religious quest of many prominent intellectuals was central to the culture of Russia's "Silver Age," a culture that still provides inspiration to "free" Russians—for example, Solzhenitsyn—and to the West. Yet, the various aspects of the Silver Age's cultural, and especially religious, life have been inadequately studied so far. Dr. Jutta Scherrer makes a notable contribution toward filling this gap. Her painstaking and detailed monograph provides a full account of the publishing ventures and public discussions carried on by those members of the Russian-educated elite, who were closely connected with the literary and artistic renaissance and for whom religious quest became a central concern.

Quite correctly Scherrer points out that these intellectuals' religious seekings, different in kind from those of the Slavophiles, started before the beginning of the new century and had their roots in the writings of Dostoevsky, Vladimir Soloviev, the esthetic manifestos of symbolism, and the philosophic evolution from positivism and Marxism to neo-Kantian idealism. Concretely, these seekings found public expression in the journals *Novyi put'* (New Way) and *Problemy zhizni* (Problems of Life) and in the religio-philosophical societies of St. Petersburg, Moscow, and Kiev—whose leading lights were Dmitri Merezhkovsky, Zinaida Hippus, Nikolai Berdiaev, Vasilii Rozanov, and on occasion Peter Struve, Sergei Bulgakov, Viacheslav Ivanov, Alexandr Blok, and Andrei Belyi. The main part of Scherrer's monograph is a detailed chronicle of the organization and activities of these journals and societies, as well as a comprehensive topical description and analysis of the major issues and stands debated in the journals and at the

meetings. A most valuable appendix gives the fullest calendar possible of the meetings held and papers read at these religio-philosophical societies. It is to be noted that not only spiritual and theological issues were discussed at these meetings. Equally important, and of wider social and historical interest, were the discussions of the practical aspects of institutionalized religion, for example, marriage, religious freedom, and the need for a general Church council. At these meetings official representatives of the Church debated openly with both the members of the cultural elite and the leading theological scholars, laying the ground for the Church reform movement, which reorganized the Russian Church in 1917. In her conclusions Scherrer argues that those members of the intelligentsia who became involved in this religious revival did so out of a desire to redefine the nature and role of the educated elite in Russia. This new role consisted in formulating a new ideology in which religious values, though not necessarily religious institutions, would provide the driving force and guiding thread for a universal—not merely Russian—cultural, spiritual, and indirectly, sociopolitical revolution. In so doing these intellectuals broke with earlier sociopolitical traditions of the intelligentsia and illustrated the latter's social evolution and fragmentation.

In my opinion Jutta Scherrer's analysis is flawed by her excessive use of Marxist-existentialist categories. Central to her concern is a search for an existentially coherent ideology that, she believes, the intellectuals involved in the religious movement tried to elaborate in order to achieve a new self-awareness (*Selbstverständniss*) during a period of social and political crisis. This leads her to ascribe to such individualistic and anarchistic personalities as Merezhkovsky, Hippus, and Berdiaev a degree of group consciousness and intellectual consistency that they never possessed. As a matter of fact, it is even difficult to speak of groups in their case; one should rather think in terms of coteries, with all the emotional and personal tensions implied. In relating the socioeconomic reality of Russia to the ideas and concerns of those intellectuals in quest of religion, Dr. Scherrer relies heavily on the conceptual schemes provided by Marxist-oriented sociologists; this is not very convincing. In particular it does not do justice to other important and widespread efforts at similar renovation of broader strata of the educated population. One wonders whether Scherrer does not take too seriously the self-important claims of the few intellectuals whose activities and religious concerns she so fully and intelligently accounts for.

The monograph ends with a very valuable and detailed bibliography of primary and secondary literature. Especially useful are the extensive bibli-

ographies of works by the major participants in the religio-philosophical societies. The more the pity that the bibliographic apparatus was not brought up to date before publication. As stated in the preface, no items published since 1969 have been included; but it is precisely in the last few years that interesting works dealing with the very problems that are this monograph's concern have been published.

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OSKAR ANWEILER. *The Soviets: The Russian Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers Councils, 1905-1921*. Translated from the German by RUTH HEIN. New York: Pantheon Books. 1975. Pp. xvii, 337. \$15.00.

This is a translation of Anweiler's scholarly *Die Rätebewegung in Russland, 1905-1921*, which was published in the Netherlands in 1958. Ruth Hein's English rendering of the author's presentation and intent is an easily readable one and, except for a few lapses (such as the misleading interpretation of "Massenstreik" as "the general strike" [p. 34]), a faithful one.

The text is divided between background and analysis: the origin, development, and function of the Russian soviets (councils) and their interpretation and use by the revolutionaries, particularly Lenin. Anweiler presents the soviets as radical democratic organizations developed by workers, soldiers, and peasants under revolutionary circumstances and expected to function, as need and occasion demanded, by forwarding the narrow interests of their members, directing the revolutionary struggle, or exercising "state power." Though similar to the English soldiers' councils of 1647 and to the Paris Commune of 1871, they were spontaneous creations, not copies of non-Russian models. After their initial establishment, during the Revolution of 1905, they were quite effectively suppressed, but they appeared again in 1917 and played an important part in the events of that year.

Although Lenin had appreciated the potential usefulness of the soviets since their first appearance, he had no clear notion of how, if at all, they could be fitted into the revolutionary program until the spring of 1917, when he was perfecting his views of the state to be formed at the time of the proletarian assumption of power. Then, on the basis of Marx's analysis of the Paris Commune of 1871, he began to see how conveniently the soviets could replace the existing state machinery and provide the base of the political structure that he contemplated and would later interpret as "the Russian form of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

When, under Lenin's leadership, a so-called soviet state was established, in October 1917, the soviets were quickly transformed from radical democratic organs into instruments through which the Bolshevik party was to guide the masses. The one notable attempt to re-establish them as organs of democracy, made by the Kronstadt sailors through their mutiny of 1921, was a failure.

Given the importance of this subject, *The Soviets* is much too brief and sketchy; yet it is valuable. When first published, Anweiler's study was the only reliable introduction to the history of the soviets, and it remains so today. There are more exhaustive studies, but they are by Soviet authors whose work in this area is so tendentious as to be of questionable usefulness. Therefore, this belated English translation of the Anweiler treatment is welcome.

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GEOFFREY A. HOSKING. *The Russian Constitutional Experiment: Government and Duma, 1907-1914*. (Soviet and East European Studies.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1973. Pp. ix, 281. \$18.50.

Mr. Hosking's book joins a growing series of monographs published in recent years in the West that deal with the last decades of Imperial Russia. As the author admits in his introduction, the question he tried to tackle is "fairly ambitious." The title of the book implies an attempt to write the history of Russia's constitutional experiment, an attempt that certainly deserves every encouragement. Yet the proper subject of the book is much narrower than its title suggests. The subtitle, *Government and Duma, 1907-1914*, certainly comes much closer to the actual content of the book. A closer examination of the text would reveal that Hosking himself admits that his "approach is quite narrow; it is strictly focused on the relationship between the government and the Duma majority parties" (p. viii). That, of course, is an important part of the constitutional experiment; it does not, however, exhaust the subject. Focusing his attention on the relations between government and the Duma majority, the author tends to neglect other parties, particularly the Kadets, and practically ignores broader social forces that determined the fate of the constitutional experiment. The conflicts and crises that took place in the Duma and with the government "were not serious," as P. B. Struve remarked at the height of the zemstvo crisis. The forces that shaped the fate of the country and to a large extent its constitutional future operated outside the Duma and found only limited expression in its deliberations.

While Hosking's book is not a history of the Russian constitutional experiment, it is a valuable study of what its author actually tried to do. Selecting some of the major issues that "affected substantially the relations between the government and the house," the study provides a detailed, well-documented, and intelligent analysis of the more important questions raised between government and Duma. The author, to a much larger extent than other Western scholars, was able to use archival material hitherto not accessible to non-Soviet historians. This provides us with some unknown facts and details concerning the mutual relations between government and the political parties. The present book is an important contribution to the study of the political history of Imperial Russia and to the expanding historiography of the Russian constitutional experiment.

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WILLIAM G. ROSENBERG. *Liberals in the Russian Revolution: The Constitutional Democratic Party, 1917-1921*. (Studies of the Russian Institute, Columbia University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 534. Cloth \$25.00, paper \$9.75.

William Rosenberg has written an excellent history of the travails of Russia's liberals, as personified by the constitutional democratic party (Kadets), in the Russian Revolution and civil war. It is a thoroughly researched, carefully thought out account of the party and the dilemmas facing it and liberalism in a time of revolutionary upheaval. The Kadets had long looked forward to the moment when they would take responsibility for governing Russia; the February Revolution seemed to offer that opportunity. Led by Paul Miliukov, they dominated the first cabinet of the Provisional Government. Almost immediately, however, they were faced with a dilemma that they never solved. The Kadets had earlier taken the position of being an "above-classes" party, whose main concern was with the condition of Russia as a state or legal abstraction rather than as the defender of a particular social class or interest. They sought to maintain that position in 1917 when Russian life was torn by social conflict, and political life was becoming increasingly partisan. This posed a fatal dilemma: whether to lean toward the left by adopting more radical policies and thereby try to improve their popular appeal and make their coalition with the moderate socialists work; or to turn right, try to draw support from more conservative groups, and become an avowedly bourgeois party—which they were in fact. The

former alternative was rejected because of their hostility to the socialist policies of their potential left allies and their desire to postpone all major social and political decisions until the constituent assembly met. (One question whether they could have won much popular support by being a paler version of the left parties, a point Rosenberg might have made clearer.) The second alternative was officially rejected as violating their above-classes posture, although it was adopted in practice by some Kadets. Thus they tried to hold to the moderate center, unable and unwilling to form a bloc either with the right, which distrusted them in any case, or to compete with the socialists for the popular masses, whom the Kadets distrusted as politically unconscious. Indeed, one of the surprises of the book is the extent to which the liberal leaders were torn by their own version of that debate over consciousness versus spontaneity, with which we are familiar from Russian socialist polemics. But most of all one feels from reading the section on the Revolution that any understanding of the Kadets must begin with an understanding of their commitment to the concept of *gosudarstvennost* (state interest).

The second part of the book traces the travails of the Kadets during the civil war. Here many of the same problems, divisions, and failures repeat themselves. The fundamental dilemma of the liberals during the civil war was whether to support the conservative army generals wholeheartedly, as many did, or to try to force on the Whites acceptance of broad reform programs, even cooperation with moderate socialists. By focusing primarily upon the efforts of the volunteer army and General Denikin in the South and around Kolchak in the East, Rosenberg fully documents the problems faced by the Kadets during the civil war. A brief epilogue outlines the continuation of their divisions while in emigration and the final sundering of the party and gives a judicious concluding assessment of the problems facing the Kadets during the Revolution and civil war.

This is an excellent work. Rosenberg ably presents the underlying concerns and principles of the Kadet leaders and shows how these caused them to flounder in the revolutionary situation. He shows the weakness and failures of the Kadets, and of Miliukov especially, without undue castigation but rather with a perception of the dilemma in which they found themselves. I would make only one small reservation about this fine book—that it is a history of the Kadets rather than the liberals. Granted that the Kadets represented the main force of liberalism, I nonetheless would have liked to see a bit more on the liberals outside the Kadets. The work would have been further enriched by an analysis of why some liberals felt it necessary to



organize outside the Kadets and why others chose to stay outside of political organizations completely. This is a minor complaint, however, and should not be taken as detracting from a very fine work, one that will probably stand as the definitive work on the Kadets and liberalism during the Russian Revolution.

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GREGORY J. MASSELL. *The Surrogate Proletariat: Muslim Women and Revolutionary Strategies in Soviet Central Asia, 1919-1929*. (Written under the auspices of the Center of International Studies, Princeton University.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1974. Pp. xxxvi, 448. \$18.50.

This is a splendid addition to scholarly studies dealing with women in the Soviet Union even though the author's concern is not with the "woman question" in Russia. His concern is rather with a problem central to comparative politics: how and to what extent political power can be used in the revolutionary transformation of traditional societies. He focuses on the interaction in the mid-twenties between Communist authority in Moscow and local traditions in Soviet Central Asia and concentrates on Communist efforts to find the weakest link in Muslim society, the "crucial actors" whose engineered alienation might subvert traditional Muslim institutions. Massell's thesis is that for Soviet authorities Muslim women appeared to constitute that "structural weakpoint" and were, in effect, a "surrogate proletariat" where no proletariat in the real Marxist sense existed.

Superficially a clever strategy, the Soviet plan seemed to have initial success. Field reports emphasized a growing trend in which the Zhenotdel, the party's women's section, was becoming a center for local female grievances. Yet by 1928 a backlash of violence resulted. Instead of the hoped for alienation of female society from traditional ways, the party's massive attempt at female mobilization caused intense hostility toward the Soviet regime. Some of the unveiled women, perceiving the discrepancy between Communist promises and the reality of how little protection and means of support the party workers could provide them, were driven to return to old ways. Massell concludes that the imperatives of interdependence between the sexes proved more potent than appeals to women to assert themselves as a social class. No quick means for social change was found in Central Asia.

Massell acknowledges that by focusing on one region, he avoided confronting certain legitimate questions, for example, those concerning the sim-

ilarities between revolutionary processes in Central Asia and in Russia. Had he done so, he might have found striking parallels to the reluctance of native Communists to support the emancipation of women. He writes of the gross disparity between the public posture and private behavior of native party officials who kept their own wives in subordination. But similar disparities existed in Moscow. Although he is aware that in Russia female emancipation was viewed as a secondary issue—while in Central Asia it was for a time a primary lever for social change—Massell tends, I think, to overestimate Communist commitment to what he calls the "downgrading of the family" in Soviet Russia. During the mid-twenties, such downgrading was not taken seriously by most of the party leadership. The women's section—a hated institution in Central Asia—was hardly popular in Moscow, in the Communist party of which it was an integral part.

But Moscow was not Massell's primary concern. His book, based on seldom-used local Communist journals and newspapers as well as *Kommunistka* (Communist Woman), the journal of Zhenotdel, provides a brilliant model for political scientists studying the results of engineered social revolution. For historians it suggests further themes. Massell analyzes the impact of decrees in the field but not the interpersonal tensions and attitudes of individual Communists formulating policy at the center. Historians might also want to pursue the lives of Central Asian women, particularly those drawn into initial contact with the women's section.

BEATRICE BRODSKY FARNSWORTH  
Wells College

A. M. SAMSONOV. *Ot Volgi do Baltiki: Ocherk istorii 3-go gvardeiskogo mekhanizirovannogo korpusa, 1942-1945 gg.* [From the Volga to the Baltic: A Study of the History of the 3d Guard Mechanized Corps, 1942-1945]. (Vtoraia Mirovaia Voina: V issledovaniakh vospominaniikh dokumentakh.) 2d ed.; Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka." 1973. Pp. 527. 14 maps.

Histories of units have always been important areas of research in military history in the West. The Soviets, somewhat neglectful of this area in the past, have been producing more and more books of this genre in recent years. The first major book of this kind published during the postwar years was *Boevoi put' voisk Turkenstanskogo voennogo okruga* (1959). Since then we have had histories of the major military districts as well as many of the armies, particularly those designated as "Guard" armies. Most of these books were published by "Voenizdat" (publishing house of the ministry of

defense), a few by provincial publishers, and some—such as the volume reviewed here—by the “Nauka” publishing house. The latter books are invariably of higher quality. *Ot Volgi do Baltiki*, the first edition of which was published in 1963, is the history of the Third Guard Mechanized Corps. The corps was based on the Fourth Mechanized Corps (the name was changed after the Stalingrad campaign), which itself was founded on the remnants of the decimated Twenty-eighth Tank Corps. The Fourth Mechanized Corps formed the main thrust of the southern pincer in the Soviet counterattack against Stalingrad. Its commander at that time, Major General of Tank Troops V. T. Vel’skii, influenced by the memories of too many defeats or possibly even by an indirect order from Stalin, called Stalin at the last hour impudently suggesting that the Soviet offensive was doomed to failure. Stalin was quite receptive to this advice, and it took the high commanders some time to persuade him not to postpone the operation. The author unfortunately neglects to mention this dramatic episode. After Stalingrad, the corps took part in the liberation of Rostov, the later stages of the battle of Kursk, the crossing of the Dnieper, and the campaign in the Baltics. The book exhibits the typical excellence of Samsonov’s research and extensive use of archives. Maps and an index are also included, but not tables showing the command structure or component units, which are usually found in books of this kind. Three pages are devoted to the names of those associated with the unit who were awarded the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. I found an error on page 213 where M. M. Potapov is incorrectly listed as M. I. Potapov. Overall the book is an excellent example of its genre, but because of its highly specialized subject it is bound to have a limited audience.

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#### NEAR EAST

S. L. AGAEV. *Iran: Vneshniaia politika i problemy nezavisimosti, 1925–1941 gg.* [Iran: Foreign Policy and Problems of Independence, 1925–1941]. (Akademiia Nauk SSSR, Institut Vostokovedeniia; Akademiia Nauk Azerbaidzhanskoi SSR, Institut Narodov Blizhnego i Srednego Vostoka.) Moscow: Izdatel'stvo “Nauka.” 1971. Pp. 358.

YAHYA ARMJANI. *Iran.* (The Modern Nations in Historical Perspective.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1972. Pp. viii, 182. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$2.45.

The gradual improvement of Russo-Iranian relations over the last decade has made it necessary for Soviet scholars to reinterpret recent Iranian his-

tory. Reza Shah Pahlavi, who was once hailed as a great modernizer, then denounced as a fascist agent of landowners and of the comprador bourgeoisie, has to be “rehabilitated,” and Iran of his day has to be promoted from the semicolonial status assigned to it a few years ago to the rank of nations striving for independence. S. L. Agaev has undertaken the task of revision in his book on the problems of Iran’s foreign policy and independence in the reign of Reza Shah.

Briefly stated, Agaev’s thesis is that Britain and the United States, as well as Nazi Germany, did all they could to enslave Iran, to control its economy, and to prevent its development into a strong independent nation. The Soviet Union, on the contrary, always pursued an unselfish policy of fraternal aid and was a tacit guarantor of Iran’s sovereignty and independence. A wealth of factual information is adduced to justify this position. An even greater number of facts which would prove that the USSR was as imperialistic as any great power is, to use a Russian expression, “circumambulated in silence.” Thus, Agaev’s book, like so many others written in Russia on modern themes, tells us more about current Soviet views than about Iran a generation ago.

Yahya Armajani’s *Iran* is a survey so brief as to put it into the category of tourist literature. Iran’s pre-Islamic past is traversed at the average rate of two pages per century. There is never space enough to take a breath. Contemporary history is no less difficult to deal with. In the last three years alone the development of Iran has been so rapid that all the statistics presented by Professor Armajani are out of date.

The book is written from the point of view of an enlightened nationalist. It is neither critical nor stridently patriotic, preserving a civilized tone and making every effort to be fair. One can hardly fault the author for the inevitable failure of attempting to produce a significant work on Iran in 172 pages.

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#### AFRICA

T. O. RANGER and I. N. KIMAMBO, editors. *The Historical Study of African Religion.* (Published under the auspices of the African Studies Center, University of California, Los Angeles.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 307. \$12.95.

This book derives from the Dar es Salaam conference on the historical study of African religious systems, held in 1970. It does not, however, constitute the proceedings of that conference; the West African papers, in particular, are omitted. The editors grant the dual objection that the religious

history of Africa should not be abstracted out as an element for separate study and that Christianity and Islam should not be excluded as if somehow un-African. But they reply that a special, even if artificially contrived, effort was needed to avoid a continuation of exactly the opposite—that is to say, changes in precolonial African history being interpreted solely in political and trading terms, and religious history, when it was acknowledged at all, being confined to Islam and Christianity. The need to study the history of traditional religion seems undeniable. Whether separating out particular themes is intrinsically undesirable is less clear. Holistic history implies holistic historians, and we are not all polymaths. Joint ventures, the alternative, are not always as successful as the present volume. There is something to be said for the specialist, plying his trade humbly and thoroughly.

Papers in the first section explore types of evidence potentially helpful for the unraveling of the earlier stages of African religious history—archeology, historical linguistics, and the interpretation of myth. The emphasis throughout is on tangible, historical evidence, in contrast to the inductive reasoning, often primarily about the origins of religion, that characterized nineteenth-century consideration of African faiths. The second section comprises two papers on cults of kingship, a theme in need of clarification since the decline of the Sudanic divine kingship diffusion theory. The papers, on the M'Bona cult among the Mang'anja and on Lozi religion, are specific; the excellent introduction draws out some of the general implications, for example, the fact that the cults often may have preceded the kings, and also points to relevant material elsewhere in the book. Royal cults are but one aspect of the interaction of religion and politics, and section three turns to innovations in this wider sphere, particularly among the Pare and Padhola.

A paper on transition rites and possession cults stands somewhat alone, and the final two sections take up the "nineteenth-century crisis" in East and Central Africa and twentieth-century developments. Here very useful material on Islam and Christianity appears. The impact of European colonialism is carefully illustrated in several papers, but another virtue of the new religious historiography is the evidence it supplies for the continuity, albeit a continuity of change, of African history, without the European period being cut off as a separate, concluding compartment.

The influence of Robin Horton is clear and explicit at many points; a chief value of the present volume is that it demonstrates how serious religious analysis, hitherto in Africa the domain of anthropologists and sociologists, may assume a

detailed historical dimension. The very precision of the evidence, and the closeness of the argument based upon this, so important in establishing the credentials of this new aspect of African history, may deter nonspecialists, though the introduction succeeds admirably in opening up some of the wider perspectives, and the index of themes is also helpful.

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RENÉ A. BRAVMANN. *Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa*. (African Studies Series, number 11.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 189. \$13.95.

*Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa* is an exercise in the sort of scholarly syllogism to which academics can be particularly prone—if one is attracted to the premises of the author's argument, invariably one must be drawn to his conclusions. And Professor Bravmann is a syllogizer of some rather attractive, if questionable, "truths." His work is a portrayal of the delicately poised collaboration between Mande "Muslims" of west central Ghana and the Ivory Coast and their non-Muslim brethren. Both groups are viewed as active participants in the masquerade ceremonies that have become a constant ingredient of Mande religious and social life; indeed, the author is able to show how Mande "Muslims" have felt constrained to initiate a masking tradition of their own. Hence, in Bravmann's view, the Mande are in no way inimical to the iconic arts, and since some of the Mande are "Muslims," he concludes that Muslims need not be inimical to the iconic arts.

There is, however, a snag in the author's syllogism—such an argument is susceptible to its own form of iconoclasm. In the first instance, the degree to which these masking activities can be made congruous with the doctrines of Islam is open to question. Moreover, much of the Muslim iconomachy of the region under discussion has been a movement to smash the poised collaboration between quietist Islam of the Mande persuasion and the kind of naked polytheism that was apt to rear itself in the Mande masquerade. In the view of Muslim militants, such a collaboration could only be seen as a mixture of unsympathetic materials. The stuff of Islam, they argued, with its uncompromising recognition of the oneness of Allah, could not consort comfortably with a ceremony that kicked against a pure monotheism. Nor would they have accepted Bravmann's contention that the masked cults, and the shrines which housed figurative art, furnished the exclusive means by which the pressing problems of existence could be comprehended and resolved.

Yet despite the author's tendency to overdress his conclusions, *Islam and Tribal Art in West Africa* is an important essay in a relatively neglected field of inquiry. If Bravmann can be faulted for the interpretations he has rendered his subject, he must be commended for the mine of information he has placed at the disposal of future researchers.

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## ASIA AND THE EAST

ROBERT A. KAPP. *Szechwan and the Chinese Republic: Provincial Militarism and Central Power, 1911-1938*. (Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, 96.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1973. Pp. x, 198. \$10.00.

This is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the regional history of China during the republican era. Kapp has consulted a wide range of Chinese-language sources and has supplemented them by making extensive use of United States and British consular reports. The result is a book that explores and analyzes virtually every important aspect of life in Szechwan Province between 1911 and 1938. Kapp's description of the feuds between rival militarists is especially revealing. These resulted in continual warfare that convulsed Szechwan after 1911 and devastated its society and economy. Szechwan seems to have been ruled by singularly unenlightened warlords whose rapacity was unredeemed by any concern for the welfare of their subjects. Their attitude toward their own soldiers, and the peasant population from which these soldiers came, was expressed by one of their agents, who, when asked about the safety of some troops assigned to a certain mission, replied, "Never mind about that. Soldiers cost only \$8.00 a month apiece and we can easily find some more if these get killed" (p. 37). This created a situation favorable to the growth of communism, and Kapp examines in detail the activities of the Communists in Szechwan during the course of their so-called Long March to the Northwest in 1934-35. Their triumphs in Szechwan, both military and socioeconomic, provided Chiang Kai-shek with an excuse for trying to extend his own authority into that province, which in turn provoked a long, bitterly contested struggle for power between Chiang's regime and the Szechwanese warlords, who, until Chiang's appearance on the scene, had ruled almost independently. By investigating every facet of this struggle, Kapp not only illuminates an important part of Szechwan's history but likewise tells us much about the strategy and tactics employed by Chiang Kai-shek in his efforts to unify all of China

under his own control, as well as the extent to which he succeeded in accomplishing that objective. The book concludes with a description of Szechwan's entry into the war against Japan, which, it would seem, Chiang intended to conduct from the remoteness of Szechwan as early as 1935. All of this is of considerable value and should recommend Kapp's book to everyone concerned with the history of the Chinese Republic.

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RANBIR VOHRA. *Lao She and the Chinese Revolution*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs 55.) Cambridge, Mass.: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1974. Pp. 199. \$8.50.

The brief monograph focuses on the content of Lao She's works, and not on their quality, with a view to enriching our understanding of the Chinese revolution. Out of some four hundred pieces of literature, ranging from long novel to poem, Professor Vohra carefully discusses thirteen works, some of which are available in translation, and mentions fifteen others that represent various stages of Lao She's career.

Professor Vohra analyzes Lao She's works intelligently. In his formative years, 1924-29, Lao She, himself a Manchu, advocated Chinese nationalism while defending Confucianism. In his mature works he turned to social realism by exposing the ills and cruelty of the Chinese society. Later, during the war era, 1937-45, he devoted his works to strengthening China's war efforts. Finally, he served the Communist regime well until his suicide during the Cultural Revolution.

It should be borne in mind that Lao She possessed many of the personal traits—conscientiousness, docility, loquacity, humor, and kindness—characteristic of the Pekingese. Furthermore, his writings are permeated with traces of the Peking entertainment world—the Peking opera, *Ta-ku* (a one-man play with singing and drumming), *P'ing-shu* (storytelling and commenting), and *Hsiang-sheng* (a dialogue between two comedians)—all of which have nearly vanished from today's China. While Lao She indulged in the Peking entertainments, thousands of youths joined the ranks of revolution. His slow awakening to nationalism made him lag behind the surge of the Chinese national revolutionary movement in the 1920s. Nor did he show an interest in the Soviet movement in the 1930s, if he did not oppose it. His anti-Chiang Kai-shek and Kuomintang stance should not be construed as Left inclined as Professor Vohra suggests.

It is regrettable that Professor Vohra does not



refer to Clement Egerton, in whose home Lao She spent much of his time in London and whom he assisted in the translation of *Chin-p'ing-mei* (The Golden Lotus) (1939). Also, he failed to locate the third part of *Ssu-shih t'ung-t'ang* (Four Generations under One Roof), which was published in 1950 under the title "Chi-huang" (Famine) in *Hsiao shuo yüeh-pao* (Fiction Monthly). Despite these failings, this book will be of value to students of the Chinese modern history and literature.

TIEN-WEI WU  
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HSU LONG-HSUEN and CHANG MING-KAI, compiled by. *History of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)*. Translated by WEN HA-HSIUNG. Revised by KAO CHING-CHEN et al. 2d ed.; Taipei: Chung Wu Publishing Company. 1972. Pp. xviii, 642, 47 maps. \$15.00.

This is a condensation of the original collection of one hundred volumes bearing the same overall title. The present volume documents the main events of the war including political, economic, and cultural aspects, with emphasis on the military. It begins with the Mukden incident in 1931 and ends with the demobilization after the Japanese surrender in 1945. As an official historical account, it enjoys the privilege of utilizing the detailed structural and operational information of the Nationalist Chinese Government. Thus, it provides a systematic summary of all government institutions and regulations established throughout the war, and it can be used as a statistical manual.

The units involved on both sides are, generally speaking, accurate. Yet the statistical figures may not be quite accurate. The strength figure of the Nationalist units tends to be lower, and the loss figure of the enemy tends to be higher, reflecting the usual desirability of the combat units on the front. Both charts and maps are well done and very useful. As a result of direct translation from the original Chinese, proper English counterparts are sometimes not used or the word structure is too literal to be comprehensible. After the Mukden incident, for instance, Lord Lytton's Commission of Inquiry, not the "Lytton investigation team," which parallels the order of original Chinese characters, was sent by the League of Nations to Manchuria to study on the spot and report to the council. The Chinese assessor was V. K. Wellington Koo, not Wellington V. K. Koo.

The book reflects the weaknesses of an official history, ascribing major responsibility for the war to the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communists, besides Japanese militarism and capitalism. It practically ignores all contributions of the Chinese Communists and the Red Army behind the enemy

lines, whether political or guerrilla activities. Significantly, the Japanese army was superior to the Nationalist Army in equipment, training, physical strength, and obedience, although not in numbers in conventional and regular warfare. Nevertheless, the Communists were engaged in partisan warfare with all the advantages of their huge homeland, with which the Japanese were entirely unfamiliar and unable to cope. The Red Army utilized the same type of war against the Nationalist Army and drove it to Taiwan within only four years after World War II. It is certain that both Chinese elements contributed greatly toward final victory over Japan, but which side contributed more is still debatable.

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CORRECTION: The author of *Treasures among Men*, which was reviewed in the October 1975 issue of the *AHR*, page 1029, should have been given as Harold Bolitho. The editors sincerely regret any confusion this error may have caused to readers and the injustice it certainly visited upon Professor Bolitho and Yale University Press. The corrected headnote and review are reprinted below.

HAROLD BOLITHO. *Treasures among Men: The Fudai Daimyo in Tokugawa Japan*. (Yale Historical Publications: Miscellany, 101.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 278. \$12.50.

The title of this absorbing book is from an anecdote in the *Mikawa Monogatari* extolling the virtue of perfect loyalty of vassal to liege. This pivotal value of the ruling class of Tokugawa Japan had special force in the vassalage of the *fudai daimyo*, the barons whose direct allegiance to the Tokugawa house following the Sekigahara victory in 1600 carried particular responsibilities in the national *Bakufu* government Tokugawa Ieyasu founded at Edo. Harold Bolitho disputes the convention that the *fudai* lords of domain adhered unswervingly until 1868, in act as well as in thought, to the strictures of selfless devotion to the sitting shogun. He contends that the calculus of personal advantage as landed magnates steadily ate away their special bond to the Tokugawa, and the initial distinction between *fudai* and *tozama*, the great independent *daimyo* defeated at Sekigahara but who still presented powerful threats to Tokugawa pre-eminence, was increasingly blurred.

Bolitho sees the *fudai* as becoming more like *tozama* in their political and economic priorities, which reflected the regional concerns of the feudal estates more than those of their overlords in Edo. The *fudai*'s status as *Bakufu* officers made them eligible to the highest levels of *Bakufu* government but also imposed special obligation of fealty to the



regime. Caught between responsibilities to their baronial estates, which growing *Bakufu* inertia made secure from attainer, and their hereditary retainer bond to the Tokugawa dynasts, their personal ambivalence fed political disequilibrium.

Reworking existing materials bearing on *fudai* brokering of incompatible tendencies, feudal anarchy versus monarchical absolutism, Bolitho fashions a revisionist interpretation of the familiar theme of shaky balance between centripetal and centrifugal forces in the system. Instead of the standard view that after a brief power struggle the system froze at a slight cant that favored the *Bakufu* center for two centuries, that the regime's firm hold on this most reliable of feudal elements broke suddenly in the face of foreign intervention in the mid-nineteenth century, he argues that *Bakufu* power reached its zenith in the mid-seventeenth century. Its slow decline thereafter, prompted imperceptibly by the self-interests of the *fudai*, has gone largely unperceived. Historians have been taken in by the rhetoric of fealty that cloaked the *fudai*'s deeper concerns for technological and economic changes affecting their fiefs.

The introduction lays out the argument persuasively. The epilogue deals with the final rush of events culminating in *Bakufu* collapse, the naked revelation of progressive decay at the center. The four substantive chapters in between show eloquently how the peculiar split-level *fudai* relationship to Tokugawa feudalism, as regime officials and as lords of domain, and the assumption that fierce battlefield loyalties and landed estates are equally as transmittable lineally were fatal weaknesses of the Tokugawa system. While some of his supporting inferences require further substantiation, Bolitho's thesis as a whole is convincing. His illumination of the *fudai*'s key role in Edo politics sets a fine example for other rethinkers of Tokugawa history.

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FRANK BALDWIN, editor. *Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship since 1945*. (The Pantheon Asia Library: New Approaches to the New Asia.) New York: Pantheon Books. 1974. Pp. 376. Cloth \$15.00, paper \$3.95.

This collection of articles, which covers the political, economic, and social developments in South Korea since the liberation of 1945, has a unifying theme—that the continued presence of the United States in that country during the past three decades has been, to use a mild term, unfortunate. Without American interference South Korea would have had the opportunity to work out its

own political future and doubtlessly would have chosen unification with the North. The Japanese and their South Korean collaborators—the landlords, the police, and the minor bureaucracy—would have been removed from power, and the workers and the peasants would have established a real democracy. Given unification, there naturally would have been no civil war, and the millions of casualties and severe economic damage that ensued would have been avoided.

Since none of these occurred, the people of South Korea have instead been saddled with a conservative, dictatorial government that has maintained power through brutal repression, elimination of the opposition, subversion of the constitution, and chicanery of every sort. The capitalistic system sponsored by the United States and now supported by the still detested Japanese has resulted in the establishment of a small rich elite, a large poverty-stricken urban working class, and a peasantry that has been used to provide a source of cheap urban labor by governmentally depressed farm prices. The dictatorship has further abused its powers by selling its soldiers to act as U.S. mercenaries in Vietnam. It follows, therefore, that the United States and its puppets—the Rhee and Park regimes—have managed to create a thoroughly unwholesome situation in South Korea.

In this combined effort to correct the "slanted" accounts that have defended or praised the U.S. role in South Korea and emphasized the positive accomplishments of the last thirty years, most of the contributors have elected to wipe out the whitewash by applying the tar brush. How much more effective this counterattack might have been if all the authors had adopted the approach of Robert R. Simmons in his article on the origins of the civil war, in which he attaches a part of the blame to both sides instead of summarily convicting the South for starting the conflict.

Perhaps the major weakness of the collection is the treatment of South Korea in a vacuum without relating it to the developments taking place in other new Asian nations facing similar problems. Originally, Baldwin notes in his introduction, there were to have been three articles on North Korea, which would have provided better balance and some basis of comparison of progress and development; it is ironic that the potential authors were not even permitted to enter North Korea, which suggests that life under Kim Il Sung may leave as much to be desired as that under President Park.

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SPENCER LAVAN. *The Ahmadiyah Movement: A History and Perspective*. [Delhi:] Manohar Book Service;

distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1974. Pp. xii, 220. \$9.00.

The Ahmadiyah, a late nineteenth-century Muslim reform movement that originated in northern India, has provoked extensive comment and discussion of the sort that obscures the forest and multiplies the trees. This sensible book has cut through a tangle of earlier polemics and scholarship to provide a wide and satisfactory perspective on the movement. The Ahmadiyah is set within the context of other Muslim reform efforts in British India. The career of its founder, Mirzu Ghulam Ahmad, receives sympathetic but critical attention, especially his multiple claims to being a promised messiah, a *madhī* (rightly guided leader), an avatar of Krishna, and the son of the Virgin Mary. The internal developments and later dissensions of the group are traced. The role of the movement, in the political ferment boiling around the issues of autonomy and independence, is clarified. The more significant writings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad are discussed. Illuminating comparisons are made between the founder and rival reform leaders, like Sayyad Ahmad Khan. The documentation is very full and will be useful to the student wishing to explore various focuses of Muslim thought and reform in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century India. The author makes a good case for the importance of his study. Mirzu Gulam Ahmad's proselytizing reached into Africa, Europe, and America, thus achieving more than local historical impact. The movement is a good case study of Indian Muslims who sought identity and direction in a complex plural society. The founder's doctrine of a "verbal *jihād*" (struggle in the way of God) against unbelievers, as opposed to the traditional sense of a violent struggle, is theologically novel and refreshing. With respect to this religious movement, the author is right to say that he "provides understanding of how and why men believe and act as they do."

Three faults, however, stand out. First, the author's style is marked by the dissertation phase from which the book developed. The weight of the scholarship might have been cushioned by more attention to felicity of expression and lightness of phrase. The book is clear but not easy reading. Second, numerous printing errors mar the text; there are no fewer than nine in the first six pages, two of them serious. The effect is unnecessarily distracting. Third, the book is priced too high for the quality of manufacturing it represents.

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AMALES TRIPATHI. *Vidyasagar: The Traditional Moderniser*. Calcutta: Orient Longman. 1974. Pp. x, 112. Rs. 8.

A colleague once spoke in Delhi on the reorganization of the Indian Congress after World War I. When he finished a gentleman rose: "Sir, you have not mentioned Jallianwala Bagh." This is the mantra theory of history; for every subject certain things must be said. That they have been said *ad nauseam*, are irrelevant, or even untrue does not matter; they satisfy. Tripathi has fallen victim to the mantra theory. He presents no new evidence. Though he speaks in the preface of a new approach, what he offers is the Bengal renaissance in all its familiar glory. He discusses, for example, whether Rammohan Roy was involved in the founding of Hindu College (pp. 9-12), though it has little to do with Vidyasagar. He describes Rammohan and Vidyasagar as men who had the wisdom to borrow what was relevant from the West and the knowledge to retain what was genuine in Indian tradition. They rose above the excesses of the orthodox, on the one hand, and the Young Bengal on the other. Where would writers on nineteenth-century Bengal find their themes without those fellows acting to excess?

At times Tripathi seems to realize that Vidyasagar was not just another nineteenth-century giant. But no hard questions—such as whether Vidyasagar was right to urge that Bengali be built on the foundations of Sanskrit, or whether modernizing the curriculum at Sanskrit College was worth it—are asked. Frequent comparisons to Western giants (pp. 2, 6, 23-24, 33, and 45) and a "background" on Christianity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment (pp. 74-79) mark the book as provincial.

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B. R. NANDA, editor. *Socialism in India*. (Issued under the auspices of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.) New York: Barnes and Noble. 1972. Pp. vi, 299. \$12.00.

SUKHBIR CHOUDHARY. *Peasants' and Workers' Movement in India, 1905-1929*. Foreword by TARA CHAND. New Delhi: People's Publishing House; distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1971. Pp. xx, 328. \$8.00.

The ten essays by scholars and professional writers in the edited volume emerged from seminars held in 1968 and 1969 at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library. The opening contribution by the editor, B. R. Nanda, surveys briefly but lucidly the interaction among socialist ideas and movements at home and abroad during the interwar years from 1919 to 1939. The next five essays highlight particular aspects of this complex interplay.

V. S. Budhraj notes the shifts in policies of the Communist International toward Indian political

developments; Zafar Imam views the rise of Soviet Russia as "an explosive new factor in Indian politics" (p. 66). Both essays form an interesting complement to Bimal Prasad's essay, "Socialism and Foreign Policy Thinking, 1919-1939." Although with little recourse to the primary sources of the Nehru Library, P. C. Joshi describes well Jawaharlal Nehru's leading role in the growth of socialism. On the other hand, P. S. Gupta meticulously documents the fluctuations in understanding and support between British Labour politicians and Indian leftists.

Socialist ideology also influenced leaders and movements at the regional level. Its impetus, however, was often modified by local interests and conditions. As Bipan Chandra shows, the revolutionary terrorists in northern India in the 1920s were in theory committed to socialism, but in practice did not go beyond nationalism. Nor did they "rise above terrorist or individual action" (p. 186) to forge a mass movement. The agricultural crisis of the 1930s similarly provided a favorable setting for the spread of Marxist ideas. But as B. B. Chaudhuri's perceptive study, "Agrarian Movements in Bengal and Bihar, 1919-1939," reveals, considerable tensions arose in the peasant movements because of the diverging class interests of a heterogeneous peasant community. Its sharper class orientation in the 1930s also clashed with the objectives of the nationalist movement, which stressed the primacy of the freedom struggle. Although his essay is necessarily brief, Chaudhuri recognizes the important connections between local agitations and the development of a wider peasant movement. Several scholars in this country—especially at the University of Virginia—are presently engaged in precisely such investigations.

P. Padhye and D. Anjaneyulu complete the discussion of socialism in India by examining its salutary effects on, respectively, Marathi and Telugu literature. As in the previous essays, both writers explain the impact of socialism in terms of a complex interplay between various "indigenous" and "external" forces. A useful bibliography of the major primary and secondary sources enhances the value of this important and systematic investigation of the historical development of socialism in India.

With less precision, Sukhbir Choudhary's book also recounts the interaction of national and international forces that shaped the socialist movement in India. He outlines a four-stage process in the growth of political consciousness and organization among peasants and workers, beginning with the early struggles (1905-08) in chapter 1 and culminating with the birth of the Communist party (1925-29) in chapter 4. The postwar awakening from 1919 to 1921 (ch. 2)—primarily under the impact of the October Revolution in Russia—and

chapter 3, "Reaching Forward to Marxism (1922-1924)," constitute the intermediate phases. In his all-India approach, Sukhbir Choudhary provides a useful description of many of the major peasants' and workers' struggles. He furnishes few figures, however, on the number of participants and the extent to which leftist ideology filtered down into local society.

Although neither work under review breaks fresh ground, they present considerable insight into the wide array of socialists and socialist parties in India today.

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B. R. NANDA. *Gokhale, Gandhi and the Nehrus: Studies in Indian Nationalism*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. 203. \$14.95.

S. GOPAL, general editor. *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*. Volume 1. (Project of the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund.) [New Delhi:] Orient Longman; distrib. by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 1972. Pp. 410. \$11.50.

KRISHAN BHATIA. *Indira: A Biography of Prime Minister Gandhi*. New York: Praeger Publishers. 1974. Pp. x, 290. \$10.00.

These three volumes add to our understanding of Indian nationalism and leadership through three generations and contribute particularly to our knowledge of one remarkable family, the Nehrus.

B. R. Nanda, director of the Nehru Memorial Library and author of an excellent biographical study, *The Nehrus, Motilal and Jawaharlal* (1963), has put together his essays on G. K. Gokhale, Gandhi, and the two Nehrus. All the essays are clearly and intelligently written, but they offer little that is new to our comprehension of Indian nationalism. In his version of the relationship between Gandhi and the younger Nehru, for example, the author prefers straight factual accounts rather than imaginative probing and speculation. The longest and most stimulating essay, "Jawaharlal Nehru and the Partition of India," is an extended account of and apologia for Nehru's actions between 1935 and 1947. Nanda defends him against the charges that he contributed to Hindu-Muslim enmity over the United Provinces ministerial question in 1937 and over the interpretation of the cabinet mission plan in 1946. The author's effort to persuade the reader that Nehru was always rational, while Jinnah was always emotional and narrow-minded, is not convincing.

The first volume of Jawaharlal Nehru's selected works, produced by Dr. S. Gopal and his assistants at the Nehru Memorial Fund, is skillfully edited and a pleasure to read. The documents, covering 1903 to 1923, include his letters from England to his parents (1905-12), notes for law cases in

Allahabad, and a range of materials concerning his early work as a nationalist and follower of Gandhi (1917-23). It covers much of the same ground as the opening chapters of Nehru's autobiography and finest book, *Toward Freedom*, written in the 1930s. From England in 1908, he wrote, "It is strange but in spite of the homelike feeling I am constantly reminded of the fact that I am a foreigner, an intruder here." The letters express his feelings about his Western education, his youthful political attitudes, his ambivalence toward other Indians in Britain, and his love for and dependence upon his father. The later sections of this volume show him becoming a full-time nationalist leader, deepening his understanding of his country and its predominantly peasant population, growing more hostile to the British rulers, working to build the nationalist movement in his own province, and ripening into a passionate, articulate spokesman for his people.

One hungers for more from the editors of these volumes, particularly for some of the letters written to Nehru, so that one could better grasp the interchanges taking place. I would also like to know what the entire corpus of the Nehru Papers contains so that the criteria of selection would be more explicit.

Krishan Bhatia's biography of Indira Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru's daughter and the present prime minister of India, is a smoothly written work intended for a popular audience. It does not have scholarly pretensions and is a good introduction. He portrays both her strengths and weaknesses, her loneliness, her reluctance to compromise, her admiration for Joan of Arc, and her possible dictatorial tendencies. He seems to believe with Mrs. Gandhi that she is the one national leader that India has today.

The three works together lead one to ask about the relationship of each generation to the next, of Motilal to Jawaharlal and Jawaharlal to Indira, and also to look for similarities in their personalities. Each has been a devoted nationalist, forceful, passionate, and even imperious; both Jawaharlal and Indira blossomed into full flower only with the death of their respective dominant parent. As more Nehru papers become available, we will try to make more such connections and also see if Mrs. Gandhi is more successful than her father in dealing with India's vast human needs and potentialities.

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Mr. Pringle writes of the romantic White Rajahs of Sarawak and their relations with the varied peoples they presumed to rule. The tale has often been told—it fascinated the Victorians and later imperialists who believed in the manifest destiny of Englishmen to lord it over "lesser breeds without the law"—but never so well.

Pringle went to Sarawak to look at original source material about the Brooke family and its century-long rule of the Bornean territory. While in Sarawak, he raised his head from the dry documents and looked about him at people and places, so that his book has a life and vitality that many tomes of equally impeccable scholarship lack. He gives us a feel for the jungle and the rivers that wind through, as well as of the people living on the banks of these rivers who for generations have had space enough to move when the land has grown less fertile; and he makes clear to us the extraordinarily complex web of relationships that grew up between the Brookes and the peoples of Sarawak.

*Rajahs and Rebels* tells of the turbulent century before the Japanese overran Borneo in 1941. In telling us of the past, it illumines the present. For instance, one of the many mysteries of modern politics in Sarawak is the very real difference between the social and political attitudes of the Ibans of the second and third divisions. Pringle shows us how historically the Ibans of the second division, with their proximity to Kuching, learned to fear the power of the "Malays" at the Brooke court. On the other hand, the Ibans of the third division primarily feared the economic power of the Chinese settlers in the Sibu region. These long-established antipathies find their voice on the modern political stage, and if the political scientist is to follow the present drama he must understand the past.

While Pringle was in Sarawak doing his doctoral work for Cornell University he also collaborated with Benedict Sandin of the Kuching Museum in his preparation of *The Sea Dayaks of Borneo before White Rajah Rule* (1967). This was based primarily on oral materials that Sandin had been collecting over a number of years, and makes the perfect complement to Pringle's work on the Brooke period. Such collaboration seems all too rare, but in these days when Asians are becoming increasingly wary of Western scholars—feeling it is *their* history and our intrusion merely a reflection of earlier imperialism—it is a pattern we should all admire and perhaps seek to emulate.

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ROBERT PRINGLE. *Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak under Brooke Rule, 1841-1941*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1970. Pp. xx, 410. \$15.00.

K. S. INGLIS. *The Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History 1788-1870*. Victoria: Melbourne University Press; distrib. by International Schol-



arly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1975. Pp. xx, 316. \$22.75.

In this, the first volume of a pioneer four-volume social history of Australia, Professor Inglis reaches the year 1870. Using four categories he describes the people—convicts, emigrants and colonists; how they spent their holidays—the monarch's birthday, the Sabbath, St. Patrick's Day, Christmas; and how the Australians displaced the aborigines, coped with natural enemies such as animals and bush fires, dealt with bushrangers and rebels, and reacted to distant European wars. In the concluding category, on heroes, Inglis shows how Australian egalitarianism has produced a short and oddly mixed list: Captain Cook, navigator; Richard Bourke, governor; William Charles Wentworth, explorer and politician; Burke and Wills, explorers; and others. Throughout the book Inglis reports the attitudes of certain groups, mostly those of the elite, but he does not appreciate the fact that women composed a large percentage of society, and he mentions only Caroline Chisholm and a few others who were very successful—perhaps because then and even now most Australians think of women as junior members in a partnership with men. He has probed with insight the mentalities of Australian groups and described their culture. He notes the transformation of a military convict society into a free and democratic one. He brings out some of the social movements and social protest, particularly the conflicts between working groups and their employers. However, his hypothesis that Australian society is more homogeneous than most is not always proved. The poorer classes are often ignored. Surely there are divisions in Australian society other than religious, once the emancipists are assimilated. Although Inglis makes ample and apt use of poetry to support his case, literature represents the articulate; but a social historian's great burden is to probe for the inarticulate's views. Inglis assumes, for the most part, that the attitudes of one subsume the other. This is not always true. Following Professor Manning Clark, Inglis divides Australians more by religion than by class.

Inglis has directed his narrative to the general public. The quantity and quality of the many illustrations are outstanding, and the book is handsomely printed. Although there are no footnotes, the bibliographical notes at the close of the book are fully annotated, with almost a complete emphasis on secondary materials. Inglis lets the facts speak for themselves, and, it is to be regretted, attempts no analysis or synthesis.

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## UNITED STATES

BERNARD STERNISHER. *Consensus, Conflict, and American Historians*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1975. Pp. ix, 432. \$15.00.

The search for the elusive essence of American history—the central theme, the key explanation, the meaning of it all—takes the form in this instance of a study of historiography rather than history, very recent historiography for the most part. The focus of the study, insofar as it can be said to have a focus, is upon the "consensus" or "counterprogressive" historians, their opponents, and the corpus of criticism and commentary the controversy has inspired. While several proponents of the consensus interpretation are mentioned, two receive more attention than all the others. These are Louis Hartz, author of a theoretical essay, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (1955), and Daniel J. Boorstin, author of *The Genius of American Politics* (1953) and other works. Opponents of the consensus school under chief consideration are historians and other writers of the New Left persuasion.

While Hartz and Boorstin are lumped together in the same school, Bernard Sternsher is correct in pointing out that their interpretations are quite different. Where Hartz holds that American history is wholly dominated by ideology, the Lockean ideology of private property, and popular sovereignty, Boorstin contends that Americans have been almost totally devoid of theory and have relied blindly on "pragmatic" adaptation to the New World environment. Sternsher reviews both interpretations in detail and recapitulates in even greater detail the critical literature, especially the essays of J. R. Pole and J. P. Diggins, though without adding anything of significance to what they had to say.

Sternsher, however, is "interested not only in the idea of consensus but also in the question whether the idea is empirically true." This interest would seem to dictate an appeal to historical evidence. Instead he calls in social scientists, especially political scientists, along with journalists and public opinion pollsters to act as referees and arbiters in a dispute among historians over a historical problem. The political scientists, journalists, and pollsters are, as might be expected, mainly concerned with the present or the recent past. Those cited are quite numerous, their findings are conflicting, and it is evident that they have by no means reached a consensus on consensus in American public opinion, much less in American history. It seems, for example, that an opinion poll of January 1971 showed that forty-seven per cent believed the country faced "a real breakdown." By mid-1971 another poll "presented a mixed picture," and by



mid-1972 a poll "rated the state of the nation as just fair to middling." But by fall another poll was "somewhat more pessimistic." All pollsters, political scientists, and journalists are treated with equal deference—as are all book reviewers and all aspiring critics.

When he gets around to considering the New Left, however, Sternsher is somewhat more discriminating and less rigid about his rule of equal deference to all. Some New Lefters are found to be less equal than others. Especially when he is assessing work in his own field of special competence, the Progressive period and the New Deal, Sternsher not only cites relevant historical evidence but ventures his own opinions. New Left historians in this field are frequently convicted of presentism, special pleading, deliberate mythmaking, and bad history writing. Foreign policy historians of the same school come off no better. Their favorite explanation of American imperialism is flatly rejected. The proponents of conflict and champions of losers provide no surer guide than the advocates of consensus and celebrators of winners.

Without drawing the obvious moral that solutions of historical problems are properly sought in historical evidence rather than in historiography, our present seeker concludes rather lamely that the conflict-consensus confrontation is a "false dichotomy," that "there is more to American history than the consensus scholarly journeys abroad illuminate," and that "at home we find consensus and conflict."

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HARRY B. HENDERSON III. *Versions of the Past: The Historical Imagination in American Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 344. \$12.50.

The overall thesis of this book is that American novelists have used two principal "frames of reference" or "interlocking constellations of assumptions" about history and the past: the "holist" attitude, exemplified among historians by William Prescott and Francis Parkman, and the "progressive" attitude, represented by George Bancroft and John Motley. Holists tend to conceive of cultures as integrated structures and are not very much interested in change; progressives are committed to such general ideas as liberty and find in history a linear pattern of advance toward a determinate goal. Henderson applies these distinctions to a long list of novelists, from James Fenimore Cooper to Norman Mailer, with particular attention to Nathaniel Hawthorne, Herman Melville, Mark Twain, and Stephen Crane in the nine-

teenth century, and William Faulkner and Ralph Ellison in the twentieth.

The method yields solid results—especially in the treatment of the emphatically holist Cooper and the minor works of Hawthorne and Melville—but Henderson runs into difficulties when he tries to apply his categories to highly complex works. Thus, although he asserts that "the progressive frame" emerges in American historical fiction as an expression of Melville's rebelliousness (in *White Jacket*, for example) he is not able to place *Moby-Dick* or *Billy Budd* clearly in either category. Similarly, although Faulkner has "a distinctly holist imagination," there is a "root contradiction" in *Absalom! Absalom!* because the effort by Quentin Compson and Shreve McCannon to reconstruct the career of Thomas Sutpen "is not only idealist but progressive" (p. 265). When terminology has to be juggled to this extent it threatens to become merely confusing. Henderson's prose is occasionally marred by other obscurities. On the other hand, when he disentangles himself from his thesis he can make remarkably fresh and penetrating observations, as in his comment that in Crane's *Red Badge of Courage* "Henry Fleming's 'epic' conception of history is as tawdry as the future Emma Bovary's 'romantic' conception of love" (p. 226). Indeed, it seems likely that the book would have profited greatly from a final revision by the author. But a prefatory note informs us that he was killed in an automobile accident before his thirtieth birthday, and the manuscript was revised and in part put together from notes by his wife and his father. Henderson's death is evidently a serious loss to scholarship, both literary and historical.

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MARCEL GIRAUD. *Histoire de la Louisiane française*. Volume 4, *La Louisiane après le système de laur (1721-1723)*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1974. Pp. 454.

The fourth volume of Professor Marcel Giraud's study of Louisiana as a French possession faithfully follows the direction the distinguished historian set in the preface to the first tome, published in 1953. He indicated then that his analysis of the foundation of the colony would focus less on French discoveries and explorations, or on relationships with other European nations that had vested interests in America, than on the intricate forces that lent impetus to the settlement of the Gulf Coast and the Mississippi Valley.

The author's emphases in this latest book of the series are on the establishment of posts and plantations under the administration of the Company of the Indies; the complex policies improvised in

the metropole and implemented in a still largely unchartered country; the sometimes improvident investments of colonizing societies and their substantial losses in men and provisions; the life-style of officials at home and of concessionaires in the new land; the primitive living conditions of humbler personnel, including raw recruits and imported slaves; and the generally friendly dealings with indigenous tribes.

Since the third volume ended with the bursting of the Mississippi bubble, the first part of the fourth tome fittingly introduces the reader to the checkmate of the "system" of the ingenious financier John Law and the liquidation of his affairs. The reorganization of the Company of the Indies, along with its personalities, polity, and problems, is then reviewed. The second section or backbone of the book begins with the subsequent decline in colonizing enterprises, the travails of hirelings tarrying at Biloxi, and the significant immigration of Germans to Louisiana in the early 1720s. Other chapters give detailed information on population increases, the status of the colony, its economic problems and administration, the endeavors of missionaries, and, finally, the key role of the king's engineers, especially when New Orleans emerged as the new capital of the colony.

Giraud invariably reinforces his judgments and justifies his critiques with copious references to the primary sources so familiar to him as a research scholar, now retired from the faculty of the Collège de France but still residing near Paris. It is clear that he has plumbed deeply both the French National Archives and the rich, rarely tapped layers of official records of the colonies, foreign affairs, and the ministries of war and marine. He presents a brilliantly assembled mosaic of territorial history with these accounts and with myriad pieces of information culled from religious order relations; annals of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome; records of the Port of Lorient, among other debarkation points; notarial entries in department centers and towns of France; the Public Record Office in London; the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans; the Newberry Library, Chicago; and eighteenth-century manuscripts, memoirs, maps, and censuses.

The evocative illustration of the camp of Law's concession at New Biloxi, drawn in 1720 by Jean-Baptiste-Michel Le Bouteux, adorns the soft cover. The real adornments of this definitive and altogether indispensable book for serious students of early Louisiana history are precise terminology, graceful style, and thorough index. A translation of all Giraud's volumes into English, as was the first in the series, would be welcome. Even more desirable would be the issuance of the fifth and subsequent volumes of this magisterial study of a

territory that, in 1803, doubled the size of the United States.

REV. MSGR. HENRY C. BEZOU  
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J. E. CROWLEY. *This Sheba, Self: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America*. (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Ninety-second Series [1974], number 2.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 161. \$8.50.

Americans of the nineteenth century developed a system of belief that placed high value on competitiveness, activity, and material success with lesser weight on spiritual and community welfare. In the present period, when nineteenth-century values are being questioned, scholars such as J. E. Crowley are led to examine those of an earlier period. He finds that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries "views on the relationship between self and society were at the core of considerations about men's livelihoods" (p. 4). They interpreted the relations in moral terms, generating distrust of the acquisitive or egocentric "Sheba self," which made it difficult to rationalize or intellectually accept increasing prosperity in general and that of the late colonial period in particular.

Such a doctrine of abnegation may seem too good to be true of any society, but Crowley presents such a strong and closely knit argument that these conclusions follow from his sources. The real problem with the book is not in its thorough, although sometimes difficult, reasoning, but in the eternal historical question, recognized by Crowley, of whether or not the sources are representative. Geographically they stretch from Georgia to New England, with the inevitable emphasis on the latter where material was most plentiful; but even more than in later periods the literature stems from the clergy and the materially successful. The first group had an obvious commitment to preaching the Christian emphasis on frugality, and the second had one in justifying, often by somewhat tortuous means, their privileged position.

Accepting Crowley's observation that the relations between values and social behavior are dialectical, it may be that men further down the social scale failed to share in elitist social philosophies. Granted this limitation, Crowley's theoretical points are analyzed with care and penetration.

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JAMES AXTELL. *The School upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xxi, 298. \$15.00.

The school in Professor Axtell's title is not the colonial counterpart of the little red schoolhouse but rather the society of early New England with all the educative influences it supplied its young members. The hill is, of course, John Winthrop's holy mount. Axtell follows Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin in defining education as socialization or enculturation—"the pervasive process in which informal, as well as formal, agencies help to transform children into full members of a specific human society" (p. x). Education is termed "the self-conscious pursuit of certain intellectual, social, and moral ideals" by which a society endeavors to "transmit its distinctive character to future generations" (pp. xi-xii). The pursuit of ideals makes education "normative," and the desire to perpetuate social norms makes it "conservative." Axtell relates the norms of colonial New England culture to the actual practice and experience of education, broadly conceived. Thus, in addition to discussing the prescriptions of adults, he essays a child's-eye or "waist-high" view of education—limited, admittedly, by a paucity of sources—that discovers such gems as the confession of sixteen-year-old Nathaniel Mather: "Of the manifold sins which then I was guilty of, none so sticks upon me, as that being very young, *I was whittling on the sabbath-day*: and for fear of being seen, I did it behind the door" (p. 47).

Axtell emphasizes the constraining pressures of socializing institutions—the family, the church, the school, the work system—in order to show how children like Nathaniel were shaped into "functioning, obedient, and cooperating" adults. While noting the existence of influences that "may have been individually liberating," he disclaims interest in them (pp. xiv-xv). The norm system is described as rigidly "conservative" in that it allowed little room for deviation or innovation. But while the general aims of education did not alter over time, circumstances did, and so did the distribution of educational functions. The latter, which Axtell traces in fascinating detail, involved the transfer of many socializing responsibilities from the family to the more specialized agencies of school and church, with accompanying transformations in the nature and interrelations of all three institutions. This is Axtell's central theme. It leads to the assertion that by the mid-eighteenth century New England was "suffer[ing] from a serious disjunction between its ideal values . . . and its operational values" (p. 287), indicating that the traditional modes of education had become critically impaired. The point is an important one, but because little attention is given to the "potentially liberating lessons" to which New England's children were exposed, the book leaves unexplored the equally important question of how

education related to changing operational values. It therefore offers little help in explaining the role of education in the processes of social change.

*The School upon a Hill* exhibits both the rewards and the dangers of the author's capacious conception of education. It presents illuminating treatments of catechistical practice, the choice of a "calling," the qualifications of schoolmasters, and the cultural significance of the names bestowed on the young. Yet it also strays into such matters of dubious relevance as midwifery, wet nursing, and the amours of indentured servants. It is perhaps a function of bias in the sources that the account is male-oriented; little is said of the upbringing of New England Eves. Errors of fact are few, but the Reverend John Robinson is located in Plymouth colony (pp. 89, 147, 195), and the Thomas Shepards, father and son, are twice confused with one another (pp. 142, 178). Such flaws aside, this attractively written, carefully researched study makes an intelligent contribution to our better understanding of colonial American culture.

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JAMES F. SHEPHERD and GARY M. WALTON. *Shipping, Maritime Trade, and the Economic Development of Colonial North America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1972. Pp. ix, 255. \$15.50.

This capable book represents a quantitative approach to colonial economic development. Explicit economic theory underlies statistical inference and conclusions throughout.

The authors focus upon overseas commerce. While many economic historians have stressed the role of distribution, none has developed the concept with such thoroughness and completeness. The analytical process also brings other important economic issues into better perspective, such as: patterns of colonial commerce were dominated by shuttle voyages, not triangular or multilateral routes; production even in the subsistence sector was markedly influenced by distribution costs; the African trade was of negligible proportions; and shipping services provided revenue exceeded only by that from tobacco shipments.

Despite the excellent analyses, gnawing questions remain. For instance, heavy reliance is put upon available customs records for 1768-72. But to what degree can these data be generalized? And what degree of accuracy can be attached to estimates of invisible earnings and balance of payments in an age when data collection was haphazard at best?

The application of modern economic and statistical concepts to a past era is not without its dan-

gers. For example, take the authors' assertion that by replacing tobacco sheds, centralized warehouses shortened the "replenishment cycle," hence lowering producer inventory costs. But if sheds were built and maintained in the off-season, when labor was not fully utilized, centralized facilities represented incremental variable costs. Thus, planters benefited not by lower inventory costs but by trade-offs. Or again, the use of *t*-tests to compare scattered observations of ton-men ratios might be questioned, for this technique assumes randomly drawn samples from a normally distributed universe. Besides, a "significant" difference in a statistical sense does not imply the difference is important.

While the scope is strictly an author's prerogative, channel relationships might have been included somewhat. This would have put a little flesh on the raw bones of physical distribution.

Nevertheless, potential biases are greatly outweighed by the study's contributions. Detailed statistical appendixes add further value to the study. Quantitative research of the colonial economy was greatly needed, and the book admirably fulfills that need.

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EDWARD C. PAPENFUSE. *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805*. (Maryland Bicentennial Studies.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1975. Pp. xi, 288. \$12.00.

Like Williamsburg or the *Residenz* of many a Central European prince and prelate, Annapolis was essentially a place of no previous importance honored by the presence of a government and of some "courtly society," but a place destined never to become a true city, dominating its region. Unlike its contemporary parallels, however, eighteenth-century Annapolis for a moment dreamed of becoming something more. In the brief interlude of 1763-75 the small place came alive, as never before or since, as the real center of the official and fashionable life of the province. Officeholders, lawyers, and a few rich planters competed in building the splendid town houses that are Annapolis's most striking heritage. Other provincials flocked there not only for legal business and the meetings of the legislature, but also for the life and society of the place, particularly at the time of race meetings.

It was at this juncture of architectural and social efflorescence that a handful of local merchants sought to take advantage of the town's role as the center of conspicuous consumption in the province and to make it into the province's primary locus for the importation and distribution of foreign

merchandise—much as Charleston was in another planting society. Geography, however, made it impossible for them to hope to make the town an equivalent concentration point for exports of wheat and tobacco. Their efforts were partly successful until interrupted by the Revolution. After the war, much the same group renewed their efforts with mixed results, but by the 1790s it was clear that the rise of Baltimore, better located for the wheat trade in particular, had deprived Annapolis of any but a purely local marketing role. Even society gravitated to the larger center.

The efforts and failure of this small group of traders to make Annapolis into another Charleston or Naples or Stockholm is the subject of Edward Papenfuse's absorbing and quite original new book. Dr. Papenfuse, the new state archivist of Maryland, is peculiarly well suited to undertake this task, for hardly anyone working in Maryland history has his deep knowledge of the riches in the Hall of Records. His work is noteworthy for the extensive use he makes of judicial records, particularly those of Chancery. One hopes that in his new capacity he is able to have that valuable *fond* cataloged so that others less expert than he can sample those delights. Court records almost everywhere, even at the Public Record Office in London, tend to be abysmally indexed; Maryland can perhaps blaze a path for others to follow.

The book is sumptuously illustrated and rich in literary details about the commercial activities of the town and the men who for a moment made it hum. My only reservations concern the degree to which Papenfuse has let his materials lead him in allocating space. The extraordinarily rich surviving records of the Wallace-Johnson firms make that group dominate the book even more completely than they did the town's trade. One would at times like to know just a little more about some of the other firms trading in Annapolis. There are also some signs of haste in composition, but it would be unfair to quibble about this extremely original book, one of the very best in-depth studies of a commercial community in colonial and Revolutionary America.

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RICHARD R. BEEMAN. *Patrick Henry: A Biography*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1974. Pp. xvi, 229. \$9.95.

Richard Beeman's study of Patrick Henry is not a biography—not even in the most political sense. Nothing of the personal man is investigated, nor can it be, given, in Beeman's words, "the dismal state of historical records relating to Henry."

Rather, Beeman's volume is really more of an extended essay in the genre of what is still the most sensitive work on colonial Virginia, Charles Sydnor's *Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia* (1952).

Essentially Beeman has two goals: to understand Henry's political actions and to analyze the interaction between Henry and the society in which he operated. Parts of the political survey can be challenged—Henry may have been more tightly allied to the "south side" faction in the 1780s than is implied—but Beeman's thoughtful social portrait is what deserves attention. For that is the book's contribution, frustrating and provocative though it be.

Initially Beeman's thesis seems orthodox enough. Henry's early political success stemmed from his position within an oligarchic deferential society, where membership in a "privileged class," no matter how rude the level, mattered greatly. Still, Henry's experience differed sharply from his contemporaries; Beeman, by way of explanation, advances a variety of subtle observations for this. He unfortunately scatters his remarks at random; but when brought together they constitute an interesting position. Henry's spectacular rise in stature represented, according to the author, a gradual shift in the "gentlemanly" conduct of politics. Two basic factors account for this and for Henry's phenomenal appeal: a style that was mesmerizing and a "particularist concern" or parochial attitude, which was shared by most Virginians. In Henry these elements emerged as a frontal assault on consolidated power. He simultaneously challenged, both directly and by example, the tidewater leadership, "the grandes," in Beeman's words, "of the provincial elite," and centralized power wherever it existed—Williamsburg, London, and later Philadelphia. What Beeman finds crucial about Henry was "his very visible and less affluent presence within the small circle of wealthy men who controlled the political life of the Old Dominion" (p. 191). True, this challenge never democratized Virginia's political culture—an elite with one set of characteristics was essentially replaced by another—but Henry's career did signify "the coming of a political structure more open and responsive than that of the past" (p. 191).

And yet, there may be more to Revolutionary Virginia than Beeman's engaging portrait. In many ways Virginia's experience during this era was far different from her neighbors. During the war years and into the 1780s dissension rocked the upper South, and social anarchy raged through the lower South, but Virginia remained remarkably calm. What gave Virginia this cohesion? Possibly Henry was a major source of strength, a strength not always appreciated by his contempo-

raries, for no other man equaled his magnetic appeal. Sydnor asked a similar question for the colonial period and suggested that the essence of Virginia's stability lay in the equilibrium of mutual respect established between the "better and meaner sorts." Henry continued that tradition but altered it significantly by giving vocal expression to majoritarian sentiments. For this Madison and Jefferson feared him. But was it, as Beeman argues, because they were apprehensive about where in a deferential society Henry would lead? Or did they harbor the darker misgivings that Henry did not lead but rather reflected prejudices and passions of the popular classes? When he spoke the people, "his caressing neighbors," were transfixed; for in his style and rhetoric they witnessed the flowing of their innermost yet only partially conscious impulses. With instinctive feeling Henry manipulated these egalitarian suspicions, whereas both Jefferson and Madison recognized in their rational moments that such attitudes required constant control. Other Southern leaders of similar appeal have possessed this talent, the latest of which now resides in Montgomery, Alabama.

RONALD HOFFMAN  
*University of Maryland,  
College Park*

DAVID BRION DAVIS. *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770-1823*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1975. Pp. 576. \$17.50.

How did Quaker mysticism, Baptist and Methodist evangelicalism, Edwardsean millennialism, and Enlightenment rationalism converge to produce the American antislavery movement of the Revolutionary era? Why, given this new sensitivity to the moral evil of slavery shared by a galaxy of leaders and statesmen, did the early American antislavery movement accomplish so little? Why did the Revolutionary era in France, where concern over the morality of slavery was far less consequential than in the United States, lead to the overthrow of slavery in the major plantation society of St. Domingue, while in the United States antislavery forces had to be satisfied with gradual emancipation in the North and had to leave the institution in the plantation South undisturbed? Why did the English antislavery movement of the early nineteenth century accomplish more than the American one? Why was antislavery in the United States associated with a revolutionary doctrine, while in England it became associated with conservative forces—with both the philanthropies of benevolent upper-class paternalists and the ideologues of the rising industrial bourgeoisie? In short, how was it that the ideology of antislavery interacted with the political and military crises of



the age of revolution to produce emancipation in some places but not in others?

Cogent and illuminating answers to these and other questions and paradoxes are offered in this learned and subtle volume. Probing the complex interactions between ideological changes, political structures, the configuration of interest groups, the distribution of power, and the unsettling impact of military events in England, the United States, France, and to a lesser extent the Spanish colonies in America, Professor Davis makes sense of the highly varied patterns that developed. Thus to oversimplify and take a few dramatic examples: slavery disappeared in St. Domingue not because of the influence of a radical antislavery ideology but because once changes in the status of the Creoles and mulattoes began, things—from the point of view of the French and of the white colonists—simply got out of hand. In the United States, despite the array of prominent public leaders who hoped for the end of slavery, the institution survived, not only because it was deeply imbedded in the South, but also because it would have been impossible to form a new union without protecting the South's interests. In England, on the other hand, the West Indian interest, despite its celebrated influence, was actually less powerful and less needed by groups with other interests than were the Southern planters of the United States.

One of the great virtues of this book is that it demonstrates how naive it would be to interpret what occurred as simply a struggle between antislavery ideologists and proslavery interest groups. Inhibiting the antislavery advocates of human liberty everywhere as a powerful belief in the sanctity of private property, which they identified with the very essence of human liberty. This belief was one reason why gradual emancipation was the general rule in the American North; in England such feelings were in the end undermined in large part because the affected property owners were so far away. Again in one of his most perceptive sections, Davis offers a suggestive explanation of why so many prominent British antislavery advocates were actively opposed to ameliorating the conditions of the white factory workers, and of how the antislavery doctrine actually served to reinforce this attitude toward the white poor.

No short review can do more than suggest the contents of a book as rich, complex, and subtle as this one is, or do more than indicate some of the major themes to which it addresses itself. Fortunately this is the kind of history that makes no compromises for the sake of simplicity, and as such it is a model for all historians to follow. In its sophisticated analysis of the interplay between changing moral sensibility, political and economic

developments, shifting institutional arrangements, and the strategies of various interest groups, it also offers a model for those who wish to study and understand the progress—and the limits of that progress—achieved by blacks and their allies during the Civil War and Reconstruction era and again during the civil rights revolution of our own time.

AUGUST MEIER  
Kent State University

WILLIAM G. ROTHSTEIN. *American Physicians in the Nineteenth Century: From Sects to Science*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1972. Pp. xv, 362. \$15.00.

A number of scholars inspired by the work of Robert K. Merton are attempting to create a viable historical sociology of scientific knowledge. Whether or not they succeed will depend on their developing a methodology that is more than a set of procedures and techniques adopted from history and sociology. That the undertaking is difficult and the skeptics to some extent justified are seen in William G. Rothstein's study of American physicians before 1900. A professional sociologist convinced that a historical approach to his subject and a sociological orientation in history can be fruitful, he has chosen to write an analysis "of the major institutions of medical practice in the nineteenth century—the independent practitioner, the medical society, the medical school, and the licensing system."

After an opening chapter of definitions, socioeconomic hypotheses, and what Rothstein calls "a general axiomatic framework"—all by way of providing a "model of analysis"—he outlines colonial medical practice and follows with four chapters on the theories and institutions of orthodox medicine in the first half of the nineteenth century. The emergence of irregular medical sects such as the Thomsonians, the homeopaths, and the eclectics, which Rothstein characterizes as a rebellion against the regular medical profession, is treated in the next third of the book. He then shows how the growth of scientific medicine in the latter half of the century undermined these sects. "In the short span of one century," Rothstein writes, "American medicine became a vocation for many men, developed institutions, fought and divided over sectarian dogmas, and accepted scientific medicine which cast out the dogmas and transformed medicine from sect to science."

Rothstein's contribution lies in his overview of the institutions important for medical practice in the nineteenth century. He has amassed an array of material from primary and secondary sources

that is useful to have in one volume, although he frequently offers sizable quotations with little or no interpretation. Certainly, he cannot be faulted for not doing enough research. What flaws the book is Rothstein's failure to establish how the "two major causal forces—the body of medical knowledge used by physicians at any given time and the economic interests of physicians in earning a livelihood"—interacted to transform American medical institutions. That interaction is critical for an understanding of what happened. Further, the influence of ideas and socioeconomic forces on the lives of individuals and institutions are fundamental problems in the historical sociology of scientific knowledge. This should be apparent from the work of Merton, J. D. Bernal, and Joseph Ben-David, among others, while Thomas S. Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962) makes it inescapable. In fact, Kuhn's approach to the social relations of science could be usefully applied to the history of medicine. Rothstein, who neither mentions Kuhn nor considers the processes of change in a book that is essentially about change in medical thought and institutions, follows the example of those historians of medicine who have little interest in this mode of analysis.

The issue need not have been raised here if Rothstein had not begun his book with a set of hypotheses that trouble the historian's critical sensibility. For example, he writes, "Extensive competition from other physicians, other practitioners, and/or other forms of medical treatment (e.g., patent medicines) causes physicians to adopt readily those medically valid therapies which can be administered on a demonstrable and consistent basis." The statement may be true, and if so Rothstein has given the historian of medicine and the student of the sociology of scientific knowledge a valuable insight. But if Rothstein is interested in writing a historical analysis, as he claims, then he must construct a case in support of his hypotheses. He has not done it in three hundred pages of narrative. Evidence without argument is insufficient here. If sociologists wish to advance historical studies, they will have to devise appropriate ways of using sociological methods and insights to solve historical problems.

HAROLD FRUCHTBAUM  
Columbia University

DUMAS MALONE. *Jefferson the President: Second Term, 1805-1809*. (Jefferson and His Time, volume 5.) Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xxxi, 704. \$14.50.

"Not the most glorious period of his public life" is the way Dumas Malone describes Thomas Jefferson's

son's second term as president, the subject of the fifth and next to last volume of the life of the Virginia president. In fact, Malone concludes that while Jefferson's re-election in 1804 "marked the zenith of his presidential career," the domestic and diplomatic problems near the conclusion of the second term marked "not only its end but also its nadir" (p. xi). Although Jefferson was able to maintain party unity reasonably well and, in the balance, had more influence over Congress than any other nineteenth-century president, he was increasingly harried by a hostile minority faction of constitutional purists within his own party, as well as by a harshly critical Federalist opposition. The Burr conspiracy, with its real as well as rumored plots for seizing Spanish territory and detaching part of the American West from the Union, was the most critical domestic problem for Jefferson's second administration. According to Malone, the intrigues of the former vice-president prompted some of Jefferson's gravest miscalculations and poorest judgments, including a public accusation of Burr's guilt as well as a misplaced faith in the integrity of arch conspirator General James Wilkinson. Burr's acquittal, by a court presided over by Chief Justice John Marshall, intensified Jefferson's apprehensions of the Federalists and their domination of the judiciary.

It was in the field of foreign affairs, however, that the Jefferson administration met its greatest test, and perhaps had its greatest failure. Humiliated by the *Chesapeake* affair and the British impressment of seamen from aboard American vessels, the United States adopted a stringent embargo, which virtually forbade any foreign commerce, in an attempt to force England and France to honor America's neutral status. The embargo ultimately failed in its foreign policy objectives; nonetheless, it required for its enforcement presidential assumption of unprecedented powers and compromised Jefferson's beliefs in limited government and individual liberty. Malone believes, however, that Jefferson had little choice, given the foreign and domestic realities, and that the objective of maintaining the United States' "self-respect as an independent nation" was worth subordinating "normal individual interests, and even rights" (p. 590).

This richly detailed narrative based upon painstaking research is an impressive accomplishment and will, with the work as a whole, be an enduring contribution. Yet for all of the book's substantial virtues, Malone's treatment of politics shows a lack of appreciation for the rather remarkable tentativeness and fragility of the Union and the Constitution. For Malone, apparently, political perceptions and assumptions during Jefferson's day

were not too unlike those of later eras. Yet there is evidence that the men of the early republic perceived politics quite differently than did their successors and that the political system marked a unique period in American history. For example, the Jefferson administration withheld military commissions from Massachusetts Federalists fearing they were disloyal, suspected Federalist support for Burr's schemes to dismember the Union and overthrow the government, and charged that the Massachusetts opposition to the embargo had "amounted almost to rebellion and treason" (p. 639). The widespread evidence of a polarization between the two parties does not lead to the conclusion that the Federalists and Republicans perceived themselves to be a part of a stable and orderly two-party system with each party periodically gaining power and then relinquishing it. Indeed, it was not until almost a half a century later, in 1844, that a party was able to regain the presidency once it had lost it.

JAMES ROGER SHARP  
Syracuse University

RICHARD KERN. *John Winebrenner: Nineteenth Century Reformer*. Harrisburg, Pa.: Central Publishing House. 1974. Pp. xi, 226. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$4.95.

John Winebrenner was a nineteenth-century American religious and social reformer. Born in 1797, he was trained for the ministry in the German Reformed Church and began a promising career in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1822. Winebrenner, however, was soon beset by both doctrinal and personal conflicts within his congregation and by 1825 had become the founder of a new sect, the Church of God. Attracted by Methodist revivalistic fervor and influenced by the left-wing Protestant ideal of restoring the New Testament Church, he was the most important leader of this small church until his death in 1860.

Winebrenner's role as a fervent political and social reformer has been less known. He was an ardent abolitionist in the 1830s and 1840s, was active in the crusade for prohibition, was a pacifist, and supported most of the other reforms of the period. Professor Kern describes the transition of Winebrenner from radical to moderate reformer. His mellowing attitude toward slavery, while it caused a major controversy within the Church of God, was motivated primarily by a growing sense of responsibility for the unity of his denomination.

Kern's treatment is fair, judicious, and well documented. He leans heavily upon Winebrenner's own published writings, but personal details that would clarify the story frequently are missing. Unfortunately, as is the case with many similar figures, the sources for writing a

personal biography are simply not extant. Kern cannot be faulted for that. He sets out "to give Winebrenner his due," and he does that well.

DAVID EDWIN HARRELL, JR.  
University of Alabama,  
Birmingham

JANE H. PEASE and WILLIAM H. PEASE. *They Who Would Be Free: Blacks' Search for Freedom, 1830-1861*. (Studies in American Negro Life.) New York: Atheneum. 1974. Pp. xi, 331. \$10.00.

KATHARINE DU PRE LUMPKIN. *The Emancipation of Angelina Grimké*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1974. Pp. xv, 265. \$11.95.

Every reform movement has been and ever will be a failure. Yet each has prepared some humanitarian advance, if only by evoking for later generations memories of ideals yet to be fulfilled. These works assess failures in the antislavery cause, though each offers a different perspective. Jane H. Pease and William H. Pease have sketched a most depressing picture of white-black abolitionism: the corrosive prejudice of white leaders and the uncertain performance of black colleagues, hobbled, as they were, by disadvantages not of their making. Failures of self-knowledge, not of racial policy, concern Professor Lumpkin in her portrait of Angelina Grimké, a Southerner bred to revere aristocratic heritage, slavery, and religious conservatism but who rejected them all at great personal expense.

Supported by impressive documentation, the Peases explain those grim elements of personal rivalry, class snobbery, factionalism, and racism that separated white from black activist. Though the latter sought independent courses, they point out, the black reformer was persistently assigned cosmetic functions. As in the larger society, white brethren monopolized power and policy making. Despite black protests, preoccupations with slavery left little room to wrestle with Yankee racism, black urban poverty, disfranchisement, and social ostracism. No wonder then that black leaders could not easily locate a base of authority even among their own people, from whom they were sometimes separated by class and cultural differences. One is impressed by the Peases' recital of feelings hurt, opportunities lost, and principles demeaned, but perhaps too much is demanded of these earnest black and white idealists who shared, albeit unevenly, oppressions both subtle and overt. Though recognizing black achievements against the odds, the authors too readily overlook the moral ambiguities that surrounded the antislavery search for power.

The same fault cannot be attributed to Katharine Lumpkin, who traces Angelina Grimké's pil-

grimage toward moral certainty and autonomy in a society that inhibited both. With rare insight, she shows how Grimké outgrew parental possessiveness, a Carolina slavery heritage, religious narrowness—even Hicksite Quakerism—and finally ambivalences about the roles of wife, mother, and public figure. Only briefly did she realize her potential as popular speaker for human rights. Both her sister Sarah and her husband Theodore Weld, the reformer, dominated her life, partly at least at her own, half-conscious request. In 1854, however, she finally subdued Sarah's serpentine aggressiveness. A triumph of self-mastery was the result, but years of unfulfilled promise had already passed. Those wishing to know more of the reform setting and the place of the Grimké-Weld household within it must still turn to Gerda Lerner's lengthier study, but Katharine Lumpkin has written a most persuasive inner biography of a great American woman.

Together, these thoughtful, sophisticated works take a place among the best recent studies about a movement that promised much more than human frailty and cultural impediments could ever permit.

BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN  
Case Western Reserve University

DAVID E. MILLER and DELLA S. MILLER. *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph*. Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith. 1974. Pp. xiii, 264. \$10.00.

From 1839 to 1846, the Mormons built Nauvoo into the largest city in Illinois, a process revealing much about their contribution to American history. Originally written in 1963 under a National Park Service grant, this survey report has been reworked into a useful "brief but factual history," containing valuable information from Hancock County and Southern Illinois University records. The authors display admirable detachment in treating controversial subjects such as the destruction of the Nauvoo *Expositor* press, leading to Joseph Smith's martyrdom, and the authenticity of the Book of Abraham in Mormon scripture.

However, the Millers continually recite events and insert long quotations without digesting them. Although they sense Masonry's role in Smith's assassination (he uttered the Masonic distress signal as he was shot), they fail to analyze it. Moreover, Masons suspected Smith of violating his oaths by utilizing Masonic ritual in Mormonism. Equally disturbing is the Millers' superficial treatment of Smith's 1844 campaign for the presidency of the United States. No thought is given to the possibility that his campaign was serious, even though Klaus Hansen and other scholars have persuasively argued the point. Hence, the reader is

unable to grasp the highly significant role of the Mormon Council of Fifty in political affairs. In essence, the authors ignored Nauvoo historiography in the years since their original report was prepared.

In Robert Flanders's seminal work, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (1965), Nauvoo's political and economic policies were paramount, and Smith was an entrepreneur—not a man of the spirit. Yet other scholars have suggested the impossibility of understanding Nauvoo without examining Smith's spiritual power. Since the Millers sympathize with that view, they provide a needed balance to Flanders's more impressive work, even though their analysis of religious motivations is thin and disappointing. Clearly, the definitive work on Nauvoo remains to be written.

DENNIS L. LYTHGOE  
Massachusetts State College,  
Bridgewater

LANGDON SULLY. *No Tears for the General: The Life of Alfred Sully, 1821-1879*. Foreword by RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON. (Western Biography Series.) Palo Alto, Calif.: American West Publishing Company. 1974. Pp. 255. \$9.95.

Langdon Sully's documentary biography of his grandfather, Brigadier General Alfred Sully, is a useful if limited life of a professional soldier in the mid-nineteenth century. The son of Thomas Sully, the Philadelphia artist, Alfred was commissioned from West Point in 1841, served against the Seminoles and the Mexicans, endured garrison duty in California and on the Northwestern frontier, campaigned from Fair Oaks to Fredericksburg, and then fought Plains Indians, Nez Perce, and the War Department until his death in 1879. Although Sully was married twice, first to a California señorita and then to a Confederate belle, his extensive correspondence with his sister Blanche constitutes the main resource for this study. Langdon Sully quotes long passages from certain selected letters, interposes a few substantial excerpts from Alfred Sully's official reports, and links these texts into a narrative chain with summaries of the remaining documentation.

First concentrating on Sully's California sojourn, the author shows how a man of considerable potential chose an unsatisfying career in the army as a bittersweet substitute for a lost love. By later focusing on Sully's service against the Confederacy and the Sioux, the author details how the army disappointed Sully's ambitions. Historians might wish that the author had given equal emphasis to other aspects of Sully's personality, such as his ambivalent but perceptive attitude toward Indians, or that the perspectives of his grandfather

had been evaluated with greater critical objectivity.

Numerous reproductions in black and white of Alfred Sully's watercolors and sketches, along with adequate annotation, enhance the value of this charming little book.

ROBERT L. KERBY  
*University of Notre Dame*

ODIE B. FAULK. *Crimson Desert: Indian Wars of the American Southwest*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 237. \$8.95.

JOSEPH A. STOUT, JR. *Apache Lightning: The Last Great Battles of the Ojo Calientes*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 210. \$8.95.

HARRY C. JAMES. *Pages from Hopi History*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 258. Cloth \$9.75, paper \$4.95.

There are two approaches that have often been followed by writers in the field of American Indian history. One of these, the more familiar to historians, is the analysis of Indian-white relations. The other approach, oftentimes more difficult because of the absence of traditional written records, is Indian-Indian history with primary attention to an analysis of Indian society and to the articulation of an Indian point of view.

The first two books in this review, Odie B. Faulk's *Crimson Desert* and Joseph A. Stout's *Apache Lightning*, focus on Indian-white relations with major emphasis on the conflicts and wars of the last half of the nineteenth century in the American Southwest before the Indians agreed to, or were forced to accept, reservation status. Faulk's *Crimson Desert* examines the Southwest from 1846 to 1886 when "the Indian had become an administrative problem, not a military one." Highly selective in covering this subject in about two hundred pages, the author concentrates on the three major tribes that most vigorously resisted reservation status—the Navajo, Comanche, and Apache. In a well-organized narrative, Faulk reviews a parade of major Indian leaders, white military officials, and white agents or superintendents of Indian affairs who were involved in the Indian wars of the period that were made more complex by the advent of the Mexican War and the Civil War. The description of these conflicts, Faulk states, is "a chronicle of man's inhumanity to man." Stout investigates a more restricted topic and deals primarily with the campaigns from 1877 to 1880 led by Victorio of the group of Apaches known as the Ojo Calientes. The Apaches were divided into several bands, and the followers of Victorio were actually the eastern group of the Chiricahua Apaches in southeastern Arizona.

They were designated Ojo Caliente for the area in which they lived, which, when translated, adds the additional name of Warm Springs Apaches. Mexicans as well as U.S. agents and soldiers were heavily involved in campaigns against the Apaches whose antagonism had increased in reaction to the Mexican policy of Indian scalp bounties. By the 1870s Mexicans and Americans sometimes cooperated across national boundaries in fights against the Apaches. The death of Victorio in 1880 actually resulted from a Mexican attack while American troops were operating in another area. Added to the complexity of the conflict of Mexican, American, and Indian was the presence of black soldiers or "buffalo soldiers" who maneuvered against the Indians and who received a higher commendation for their efforts by Stout than many of their prejudiced contemporaries were willing to give. Both Faulk and Stout present thoroughly researched and well-documented studies; Stout turns more often to newspaper accounts for his more restrictive topic. Both include vignettes of Indian and white leaders that contribute interest as well as perspective for the reader. With the goals set for their books, they achieved the purposes of their study, but they provide little information about the impact of the conflicts upon the political, social, and cultural life of the Indians.

Harry C. James's volume focuses more directly upon Indian-Indian history and proposes to examine major changes in Indian life in his broad sweep of the history of the Hopi tribe from their origins to the present. His information comes from personal experience, from conversations with Hopi friends, and from examination of written accounts, most of them secondary sources. Designed for the general reader, the volume contains only forty-one reference notes. It is, therefore, difficult to identify the authority for many of the interesting insights about the Hopi, including their reactions to federal programs of education, the Dawes Severalty Act, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and factionalism within their own tribe. There is a need for a fuller statement of the relationship of the Hopi story of creation and their origins to the Hopi Way. The volume also contains too many undigested contemporary accounts such as the ten-page narrative of the Mennonite missionary, H. R. Voth. The most valuable contribution of the study is the information that seems to come from the author's own direct experience with the Indians or from his conversations with Hopi friends.

W. STITT ROBINSON  
*University of Kansas*

JOHN RICKARDS BETTS. *America's Sporting Heritage: 1850-1950*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company. 1974. Pp. xv, 428. \$9.95.



This detailed survey will support the claims of the vigorous sport historians that their subject deserves much more serious attention. Betts demonstrates that American amateur sport and professional sport are new under the sun and that they developed in response to technological change and social movements, particularly urbanization. American sport formed our culture and our character. There is even a chapter entitled "Education, Religion and the Arts" (pp. 344-68).

The author died in 1971. He had previously published a good article on sport in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* in 1953 (pp. 231-56) and his doctoral dissertation (Columbia, 1951) had a distinguished word-of-mouth reputation among many physical educationalists who write sport history. With the permission of Betts's son, some admirers edited the dissertation for publication. The book is packed with information drawn from sports reporting in newspapers and magazines that have never before or since been examined with such care. In his labors, Betts favored names, dates, events, and numbers rather than analysis or engaging exposition. American social historians looking for new topics that will lend themselves to lively writing might want to keep this book around. In short, the book is a worthwhile compendium rather than a finished literary product or a developed theoretical statement.

The editors erred, however, in the title and introductory material by promising more than could be delivered. Despite the title, there is little on sport after 1939. They also made no effort to update Betts's bibliography of 1951 (pp. 401-09). By all accounts Betts was a modest man. It is presumptuous to claim of him that "as a sport historian he had no peer" (p. xi) in an obviously unfinished work, which he let lie for twenty years, perhaps for reasons that should have been respected.

RICHARD D. MANDELL  
*University of South Carolina*

ELBERT B. SMITH. *The Presidency of James Buchanan*. (American Presidency Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 1975. Pp. xiii, 225. \$12.00.

Elbert B. Smith's study of the Buchanan administration should interest historians and the general public. Drawing on standard secondary accounts, this volume in the American Presidency series presents a brief but excellent synthesis of James Buchanan's presidency. It is not surprising that Buchanan does not emerge as an able or sympathetic national leader. Indeed, Smith argues that Buchanan's folly helped bring about the Civil War.

Smith disagrees with those historians who consider Buchanan weak, indecisive, and a tool of

strong Southern leaders in his cabinet. Instead, the author argues that Buchanan followed a pro-Southern policy, not from weakness but from conviction. The president really believed that Kansas should be accepted as a slave state under the Le-compton constitution. He sincerely considered Douglas a traitor to the Democratic party and a force for disunion when the senator would not placate the South at the cost of losing his Northern support. And it was Buchanan himself who made the decision to throw the support of the White House against Douglas in 1860 and to insist on a Southern extremist platform and candidate at the Democratic convention. This pro-Southern policy was the result of the president's emotional attachment to the South. Because of his Southern sympathies, Buchanan could never understand the character and strength of the Northern Free-Soil movement. He had no repugnance against slavery in the new territories and thus never understood the moral outrage of Northerners.

Douglas, however, understood Northern feelings toward slavery in the territories, and he emerges in this volume as the man who might have prevented the Civil War. Douglas was the moderate. He defended the right of the South to retain its peculiar institution as long as it wished, and he supported the right to take slaves into any territory where a majority wanted it. As Smith suggests, had Southerners followed Douglas in 1860 they might have been able to save slavery. Instead they listened to a president who did not understand the North. Republican victory in 1860 and secession followed inevitably, and, as Smith argues, all this was made possible by policies stemming from the White House.

The author's evaluation of this administration demonstrates anew that Buchanan was one of the most unsuccessful statesmen ever to reside in the White House. He failed to understand the North of his day. The nation later paid a terrible price for this failure.

JOSEPH GEORGE, JR.  
*Villanova University*

FREDERIC E. RAY. *Alfred R. Waud: Civil War Artist*. (A Studio Book.) New York: Viking Press. 1974. Pp. 192. \$16.95.

Here is another "bio-iconography" of an artist-illustrator more or less evenly divided between biography and reproductions of art work. It is a welcome if tardy recognition of the historical service of artists long scorned by museums but now discovered by art historians.

"Alf" Waud, a Yorkshireman, was born in 1828, trained at the School of Design in London and came to America in 1850. Little is known of his first

years here. In Boston he learned to draw on wood blocks for engravers—the author refers to “various jobs” with “various publications.” He somehow learned the basic skill of an artist-reporter, the ability to make a quick sketch at the scene of action and later supply detail enough for the engraver. This artistic shorthand became a very marketable talent when the Civil War created a demand for battlefield artists. Depicting life with the Army of the Potomac, Waud was “special artist” for the *New York Illustrated News* and later for *Harper's Weekly*. Though battlefield artists had an advantage over photographers—they could depict action—Alexander Gardner, a photographer, is much more widely known than Waud. The reproductions from original sketches and some finished drawings in this book may repair that injustice. Here is action, life, and artistry, where Gardner captured immobility.

This, the first book about Waud, pays scant attention to his long career after 1865. The first seventy-one pages are a biographical essay with thirty-four illustrations. The 108 plates are well reproduced in pages 75 through 183. This is a wise division because the plates are much better than the text, which is marred by clichés—“martyred President,” “anxious fireside,” and “untimely demise”—and incorrect usages—“travel expansively.” This is what editors used to correct when editors knew English better than did authors. There is, unfortunately, no checklist of Waud's published illustrations, or other definitive bibliographic apparatus.

MARTIN SCHMITT  
University of Oregon

WILEY SWORD. *Shiloh: Bloody April*. New York: William Morrow and Company. 1974. Pp. xx, 519. \$15.00.

Strangely, until the publication of the book under review, there has been no adequate comprehensive study of the battle of Shiloh, one of the pivotal engagements of the American Civil War. Now finally, Wiley Sword has supplied this century-old need, and in so doing he has contributed to the shelf one of the better works on a major campaign of the 1860s.

Based on a rather wide range of primary sources and secondary books—although curiously ignoring Thomas Connelly's work on the Confederate Army of Tennessee—*Shiloh: Bloody April* shows convincingly the significant role of Union General Henry W. Halleck as the originator of the Federal offensive into Tennessee. While not hostile to U. S. Grant or William T. Sherman, Sword correctly cuts them down a notch or two for their careless performances early in the Shiloh operation. He

properly elevates Confederate General Albert Sidney Johnston to a higher niche than many historians have conceded him for his brilliant, smashing, almost overwhelmingly successful attack of April 6, 1862, on Grant's army at Pittsburg Landing, Tennessee. Certainly Johnston, rather than Sherman or Grant, deserves the highest marks, which the author gives him before his death on the field. Don Carlos Buell also receives just credit for his timely counterattack on the second day, which turned the tide of battle against the Southerners. Perhaps Sword is not sufficiently appreciative, however, of Ben Prentiss's epic stand at the “Hornet's Nest,” which slowed the Confederate advance in the full flush of success.

The book's good maps and illustrations are helpful, and the author's knowledge of the battlefield terrain enables him to pinpoint the action. Frequent vignettes and observations from men in the ranks augment quotations from the high brass. The book is written in a bit of an uneven, muscular style, however, and at times there is a lack of smooth transition from one paragraph or topic to another. It is marred by too many clichés, slang expressions, and modern colloquialisms. The author has also been poorly served by the clumsy manner in which the notes are cited in the back of the book. And occasionally his historical method leaves something to be desired. But, on balance, it is a useful book, and I can agree with Brigadier General S. L. A. Marshall, who wrote the foreword, that it is Sword's “perception of the chance of fighting operations and his revelation of raw human nature in the worst of circumstances that make an old story as freshly new as the next second.”

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SIDONIE SMITH. *Where I'm Bound: Patterns of Slavery and Freedom in Black American Autobiography*. (Contributions in American Studies, number 16.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 194. \$9.95.

MARY ELLISON. *The Black Experience: American Blacks since 1865*. New York: Barnes and Noble. 1974. Pp. 334. \$14.50.

Drawing on her doctoral dissertation, Sidonie Smith has used autobiographical works by nine black writers, seven of them exclusively twentieth-century figures, to probe Afro-American responses to oppression. There are, as well, occasional references to other first-person accounts and to books of history and literature. Characters from Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*, for example, intermittently provide ideological or behavioral motifs.

Although an interdisciplinary thrust constitutes the major strength of an American studies approach, Smith, a professor of black literature, has not fully capitalized on that opportunity. In the preface she introduces the idea of individual movement from an enslaving or oppressive atmosphere into an interracial community that values self-expression and/or into a black community that provides identity and group support. If these alternatives prove unsatisfactory to the autobiographer, Smith suggests that writing an autobiography may itself offer a liberating experience. Wholly valid as analytical devices, these themes suffer from an uneven discussion of subject matter, a lack of sufficiently developed historical comparisons, and a sometimes mechanical reliance upon the techniques of literary criticism. The volume ends too abruptly; there is no summary. We need, also, some sustained treatment of autobiography's impact on readers, especially those in the black community. Smith's handling of Richard Wright, Maya Angelou, and Claude Brown is at times quite arresting, but throughout the text she takes too much for granted in using the concepts of "manhood," "womanhood," "masculinity," and "femininity." Finally, she has erred by declaring that Elijah P. Lovejoy severely whipped William Wells Brown (p. 3).

Mary Ellison, who lectures in American history at Keele University, has committed numerous errors. Some may derive from a basic unfamiliarity with U.S. geography: Oakland, California, becomes a black ghetto of Los Angeles (p. 245), and the Resurrection City of 1968 is placed "outside Washington" (p. 258). Similarly, her reliance upon British rather than American idiomatic phrases may account for certain problems. But no reasonable excuse exists for others: "The Civil Rights Bill of 1883 encouraged segregation" (p. 38); *Hall v. DeCuir* of 1878 was not a railroad case (p. 48); Will Alexander and Edwin Embree are identified as "respected black educators and reformers" (p. 115); the Wagner Act is dated 1937 (p. 130); Roscoe Dungee becomes "Jusjee" (p. 140) and Lloyd Gaines, "Davies" (p. 185); the Fahy Committee is incorrectly declared to have made its recommendations by the spring of 1948 (p. 161); and there are others.

Ellison has a firm grasp of black people's dilemmas during Reconstruction, the Jim Crow era, and the depression of the 1930s. She understands what the Black Panther party and what George Jackson had hoped to accomplish. On the other hand, her apparent antipathy to black nationalism surfaces from time to time; Malcolm X has become a potential agent of change by 1965, whereas two pages earlier he was merely Elijah Muhammad's "henchman" (p. 241). Overall, the book is largely

derivative. The bibliography indicates an almost total dependence upon books and articles, printed government documents, and a lengthy list of newspapers; manuscript sources are noticeably slight. Furthermore, the writing style seems stiff to the point of distraction, while a tendency to repetitiveness suggests organizational problems as well.

ROBERT L. ZANGRANDO  
*University of Akron*

LEO F. SCHNORE, editor. *The New Urban History: Quantitative Explorations by American Historians*. Foreword by ERIC E. LAMPARD. (MSSB Quantitative Studies in History series.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1975. Pp. ix, 284. Cloth \$17.50, paper \$8.75.

In view of its title and date of publication, scholars interested in the "new urban history" may think that the book under review represents work done in the six years since Stephan Thernstrom's and Richard Sennett's *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* was published by Yale University Press in 1969. That, however, is not the case. According to Leo Schnore's brief prefatory note, the "papers" in the new book were prepared by June 1970 for a conference at the University of Wisconsin. What we have here then is not a follow-up but a companion piece to the stimulating essays that came out of the Yale conference of November 1968. Unfortunately, this book by Princeton Press is not as original, not as interesting, certainly not as readable—simply not as good as Yale's. Alas, yet again the Tiger has been bested by the Bulldog.

To begin with, the inaccuracy of the title requires comment. Most of these "explorations" were done not by historians but by economists and geographers. Several of them read like five-finger exercises, working papers indeed, rather than the finished and clear statements that readers have a right to expect scholars of whatever methodology to produce. Eric E. Lampard's introductory essay, "Two Cheers for Quantitative History: An Agnostic Foreword," will be heavily thumbed through by the few persons likely to buy this expensive book, for in devoting half its space to capsule reviews and summaries of the nine essays that follow, it translates prose and numbers that some might otherwise find undecipherable.

The "historical" essays are divided into three parts. Part 1, "The Growth and Function of Cities," contains Allan R. Pred's "Large-City Interdependence and the Pre-Electronic Diffusion of Innovations in the United States"; Martyn J. Bowden's "Growth of the Central Districts in Large Cities"; and Kenneth T. Jackson's "Urban Deconcentration in the Nineteenth Century: A Statistical

Inquiry." An admired geographer whose work has recently been singled out for its innovativeness, Pred treats an interesting theme informedly but in a manner flawed by jargon and slight command of appropriate historical sources. Bowden teaches us, among other things, that banks are more autonomous than are apparel stores in determining whether to move. Jackson's is a first-rate essay by any standard and a particular delight in this context. Masterfully manipulating data drawn from many cities and informed by its author's command of the diverse literature on suburbanization, it argues clearly and convincingly that "the large-scale dispersal of urban residents into exurbia and suburbia is not a new phenomenon but is rather the direct continuation of a spatial pattern characteristic of metropolitan America for 125 years."

Part 2 is headed "Accommodations to the Urban Environment." Kathleen Neils Conzen's "Patterns of Residence in Early Milwaukee" reports that "gradient analysis has confirmed for Milwaukee the hypothesized pattern of central high-status settlement and low-status periphery" and that "Milwaukee exhibited a high degree of ethnic clustering" in the quarter century before the Civil War. Zane L. Miller's essay, "Urban Blacks in the South, 1865-1920: The Richmond, Savannah, New Orleans, Louisville and Birmingham Experience," argues clearly but thinly "the thesis that the cities produced diversified and lively rather than demoralized and inert black communities." (The contrary thesis attributed by Miller to a number of scholars is much oversimplified.) Gregory H. Singleton's "Fundamentalism and Urbanization: A Quantitative Critique of Impressionistic Interpretations" is a fine piece which fulfills its promise that use of "the most rudimentary form of quantitative analysis could shed some light" on the "ways in which fundamentalism and urbanization are connected." Singleton's subtle insights and conclusions reflect more his own obvious intelligence and good sense than the inevitable blessings of the methodology he employs.

Part 3, "Economic Analysis of Urban Historical Phenomena," is turned over to the econometricians. Claudia Dale Goldin's "Urbanization and Slavery: The Issue of Compatibility" is part of a doctoral dissertation done under the direction of Robert W. Fogel, among others. The paper challenges Richard Wade's conclusion that slavery and cities were incompatible and does so largely on the basis of clear population data and at times surprisingly unesoteric mathematics. Robert Higgs, in "Urbanization and Inventiveness in the United States, 1870-1920," labors to produce conjectures that he concedes do not explain why inventions flourished above all in cities or why Connecticut, for what remain some strange reasons,

was a hotbed of inventiveness. Joseph A. Swanson's and Jeffrey G. Williamson's "Firm Location and Optimal Size in American History" may interest mathematically sophisticated entrepreneurs seeking helpful models to influence their choice of location—if, of course, there are such people—more than it does historians. It is hard to disagree with Mr. Lampard's estimate that "the historian may find [Swanson's and Williamson's] entire exploration lacking in concreteness."

The book is the third volume of the Mathematical Social Science Board series, *Quantitative Studies in History*. Robert W. Fogel has written the series preface for the MSSB.

EDWARD PESSEN

*Baruch College and the Graduate Center,  
City University of New York*

WILLIAM PRESTON VAUGHN. *Schools for All: The Blacks & Public Education in the South, 1865-1877*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1974. Pp. ix, 180. \$12.50.

Anyone who seeks to describe the progress and shortcomings of Reconstruction faces an almost impossible task. If he restricts himself to unambiguous facts, he can do little more than chronicle a series of half-starts and frustrations; if he seeks to invest those facts with a larger significance, he is likely to substitute polemics for understanding. William Preston Vaughn has chosen the first alternative in this workmanlike little book, which traces in some detail attempts made by private and public agencies both Northern and Southern to secure effective education for the freedmen during the period when Northern Republicans took an active interest in their elevation. Although there is little that is really new in Vaughn's study, his research has been extensive and his book provides useful brief accounts of such phenomena as the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, the behavior and the reception of Northern teachers in the South, and the educational controversies peculiar to Louisiana and South Carolina, where public education most closely approached racial integration.

To the extent that his volume is informed by an overriding question or hypothesis, it is the possibility that Southern schools and universities might have been successfully integrated had Northern whites demanded that result. (Vaughn apparently believes that a majority of Southern blacks favored integration, for essentially modern reasons.) Yet—apart from some rather conventional indictments of whites who failed their fellow men—he has not really dealt with the large issues of interpretation that must underlie significant conclusions on this point. For example, there is a wide range of questions about what was feasible in the South of that



day; Vaughn sketches some of the alternatives but does not confront them systematically. Even more important, and assuming that such a step was desirable, there is the problem of whether it was possible for Northerners to invent and administer a truly effective reconstruction of Southern institutions. Until we begin to face such questions directly, however, we cannot claim to understand the events that Vaughn has dealt with here.

RUSH WELTER  
Bennington College

JOHN DUFFY. *A History of Public Health in New York City, 1866-1966*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 1974. Pp. xxi, 690. \$20.00.

ROBERT STEVENS and ROSEMARY STEVENS. *Welfare Medicine in America: A Case Study of Medicaid*. New York: Free Press. 1974. Pp. xxii, 386. \$13.95.

LLOYD C. TAYLOR, JR. *The Medical Profession and Social Reform, 1885-1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1974. Pp. 168. \$12.95.

Social medicine, as much an attitude as it is a set body of facts, has recently again come to the fore. In this country public medicine and public health, while always blessed by a few enlightened and vigorous reformers, usually has played second fiddle to the march of scientific progress. But as Professor Duffy has admirably demonstrated in his book, the two are interdependent. One of today's problems is that science has outstripped society; our social means of bringing effective medical care have not kept pace.

These three recent books all deal with the issue of social reform, and each in its own way tells of the difficulties encountered. The books by Duffy and Stevens and Stevens are large and comprehensive for their subjects. The shortest of the three, Lloyd Taylor's *Medical Profession and Social Reform, 1885-1945*, attempts to cover the most territory and regrettably falls short of success, mainly because he skims only the surface. Historians, Taylor believes, have too often neglected the role of the physician as social reformer. He brings to our attention the work of men and women physicians—especially at Johns Hopkins and Harvard—who were instrumental in setting up social services in hospitals, properly run children's services, occupational health and safety measures, and proposals for national health insurance. Much in this book is well known; all of it is interesting and deserves to be known better. The sections on Richard Cabot of the Massachusetts General Hospital and on Hugh Cabot of Boston and Rochester, Minnesota, are well done. Unfortunately, one is put on guard by an opening sentence that says, "From the end of the Civil War until the decade of

the 1880's America showed little concern about either medicine or social welfare." Nor does the misspelling of the names of well-known physicians inspire confidence either—T. M. Prudden is called Purden in both text and index. What seems lacking is a sense of maturing beyond a dissertation, well conceived but too broad for such a short book. The bibliography neglects the work of Rosemary Stevens, Iago Galdston, George Rosen, Richard Shryock, and even Henry Sigerist. This reveals a terribly restricted awareness of what has already been written. Yet Professor Taylor shows that many questions are left to be answered, and for this stimulus we are in his debt.

Robert Stevens of the Yale Law School and his wife, Rosemary, of the School of Public Health at Yale are well-known authors in the medical care field. This, their first joint book, is a ten-year case history of Title XIX of the Social Security Amendments of 1965, better known as Medicaid. It is a detailed and careful book that raises a series of questions. Medicaid, or government provision of medical care for the indigent, covered twenty-three million Americans in 1973, consuming nine billion dollars of public funds. Despite the magnitude of this program, it has not been a success. The problems of New York and California are particularly well described.

Enacted in the exuberance of Great Society optimism, Medicaid lacked specific goals. The Kerr-Mills federal-state partnership preceding it notwithstanding, the Medicaid legislation still led to too little congressional planning. No clear objectives seem to have been in the minds of those who were responsible for implementing it, and no one really addressed the problem of potential impact of Medicaid on the health-care system as a whole. The lapses, plus the vague language of the bill itself, the Stevenses believe, can explain the resulting failure. As they point out, "Medicaid is a museum of the defects of a medical care program [and] it is a remarkably instructive museum for those who must plan for the future." The authors do a fine job of providing the historical context in which Medicaid arose, using a wide variety of sources. Both this book and Duffy's volume have one weakness in common: the principle actors fail to come to life very well. Howard Newman, for instance, came into the crucial job as commissioner of the Medical Services Administration of HEW in 1970. The Stevenses claim that he was able to sweep with a new broom. Yet who was Newman, what was his background, and why was he able to carry out more effectively the MSA's reorganization and functions?

Medicaid proved to be cumbersome and extremely expensive. If there is a lesson here, it would seem to be applicable to the current debate



about national health insurance. All those who are planning and who will have to implement a national health insurance program should read this fine book. We will have to make clear administrative and financial, as well as philosophical, goals if the pitfalls of Medicaid are to be avoided.

John Duffy, Priscilla Alden Burke Professor of History at the University of Maryland, is one of our foremost historians of medicine and public health. In this, the second and concluding volume of the history of the New York City Health Department, he describes the effective work in environmental sanitation, school health, and communicable disease control in the century 1866-1966. Medically speaking, New York has always been a leader. Now, thanks to his monumental labor, we have a fuller history of public health for our largest city than we do for any other.

The arrangement in this volume is chronological for better than the first half, topical for the latter part. The strength of the book is in the telling of the slow evolution and acceptance of public health as sanitary science. The germ theory of disease gave sanitarians in the last two decades of the nineteenth century the scientific rationale for the clean-ups they had stressed all along. Unfortunately, as is true in the admirable book by the Stevenses, the leading characters really do not come to life, as they do for instance in Barbara Rosenkrantz's history of public health in Massachusetts. Perhaps this is owing to an apparently heavy reliance on official documents such as annual reports. Yet the bibliography is extensive and useful, and the concluding chapter describing three hundred years of public health in New York is very well done. The two-volume history of public health of New York City is a welcome addition to the slowly growing literature of urban health conditions. As such, historians of medicine and urban historians are much in Professor Duffy's debt.

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D. SVEN NORDIN. *Rich Harvest: A History of the Grange, 1867-1900*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 1974. Pp. ix, 273. \$12.00.

A revision of Solon J. Buck's *The Granger Movement* (1913), this monograph on the Grange correctly distinguishes Grangerism, as reflected through membership in the Patrons of Husbandry, from generalized currents of agrarian unrest. The concreteness gained from an examination of proceedings, minutes, and legislative petitions registers official policy concerns and leaders' intentions, though at the

expense of a circumscribed treatment, tied to the organizational dimension, where the movement disappears into a compendium of scattered demands. These latter, however, hold our interest by their lack of focus and largely trivial character; for despite the author's attempt to portray the Grange as a progressive, democratizing force, the evidence suggests a propertied orientation, antiradical patriotism, and limited goals, conceived in terms of self-interest, and to be realized through moderate, nonpolitical means. If Buck's work merits revision, Nordin does not quite succeed in pointing the way. Not simply has political-economic activism, beyond Granger railroad agitation, been minimized for the geographic area where Buck's findings apply, but the conservatism now emerging when the scope has been enlarged is not recognized. Nordin is ambivalent throughout. Seeking to debunk the movement's image of radicalism, in favor of presumably saner, more responsible conduct, he nevertheless cannot abandon the fruits of this image, where Grangerism represents an advanced position.

There is merit in faulting Buck for confining the movement's locus to the upper Mississippi Valley when membership rolls indicate predominant strength in Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky, and Missouri. This becomes a necessary step in re-examining social composition and regional sources of involvement. Yet what follows merely is a two-stage Granger movement, marked by a resurgence in the East in the 1890s, that leads to analytic confusion. The distinction becomes a dead end: "As a result of this common feeling, the organization's programs did not change very much in the nineteenth century, and patrons' demands during the two granger movements did not differ noticeably. No special point will be made therefore in this study to differentiate between the two phases of the movement." If premonishing the study's theoretic weakness, a more basic point is that evidence can thereby be, and often is, introduced from both periods and all areas on a given matter, sacrificing the clarity to be derived from an inspection of separable parts and time frames. Formal pronouncements sustain a uniformity of narration that handicaps critical dissection when imperatively needed, as in this sentence, which is not followed up: "In Mississippi, the Grange was often a front for the Ku Klux Klan." Here is exciting ground for reinterpretation that hardly comports with the author's conclusions; instead, Southern Grangerism is melded with a national entity comprised of possibly disparate constituencies.

The main thesis, that the Grange "was primarily a social and educational fraternity for farmers and their families rather than a medium for politi-

cal and economic activities," can be provisionally accepted, if it is recognized that the absence of militance in the latter areas itself defines a conscious posture. The view of the Grange as a "fraternal order" tends to govern the selection of themes to be explored, placing undue stress on education at the expense of deeper political investigations. "One theme runs through the entire study. The objectives established by the order's founding fathers remained the bases of the Grange's activities." The flow appears downward from the leadership, with their statements often taken at face value. There is little assessment of the impact of Grangerism on its membership, or determination of whether a growth in political consciousness had occurred—the latter crucial to extricating a social movement from its organizational shell. We are more aware of Grangerism from the evidence presented, but do not as yet have a sense of its class basis, ideological sources of cohesion, or the implicit accommodations made to prevailing arrangements, queries that must be pursued to fix the movement's historical place.

Nordin's findings can be summarized as follows: the Grange sought to upgrade rural schools and stressed practical knowledge; it had a "positive role in the development of land-grant institutions" and called for independent agricultural colleges financed by Morrill Act funds; adult education was emphasized, concerned with "agricultural and household topics" and not with political discussions of antimonopolism. Social activity, the breaking down of rural isolation, was a Grange mainstay. Business activities—"not the main reason for the order's existence"—centered on co-operatives and improvement of the farmer's marketing position. This key aspect leaves much unanswered. Did the Grange leadership actively support cooperatives? Did the enterprises benefit poorer farmers, particularly where cash payment was involved? Was cooperation, as several recent historians suggest, a main source for recruitment into the movement? It is noteworthy that when more ambitious plans surfaced, Nordin ascribes this to "mass psychopathy," as though an inappropriate response to hard times. On partisan politics, the author reifies nonpartisanship into an absolute standard, treating independentism, especially Ignatius Donnelly's Anti-Monopoly party, as opportunistic if not also subversive, no doubt because in conflict with the founders' blueprint. On "Miscellaneous Legislative Programs" one finds such issues as protection of the public domain for settlers, removal of cattle's horns, prohibition, antioleomargarine sentiment, women's rights, immigration restriction ("America for the Americans"), and export subsidies to raise farm

prices. A final chapter on transportation assigns the Grange, restating George H. Miller's work, a supplementary role in railway legislation.

NORMAN POLLACK  
Michigan State University

JAMES TICE MOORE. *Two Paths to the New South: The Virginia Debt Controversy, 1870-1883*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1974. Pp. xiii, 167. \$12.95.

In 1879 controversy about a burdensome state debt brought the insurgent Readjuster party to power in Virginia. Readjusters scaled down the debt, reduced taxes, and increased public services. In 1881 they followed Senator William Mahone into the national Republican camp, breaching the Solid South until Democrats regained control. Professor Moore's book is not a full narrative history of the controversy but a hard-hitting series of interpretive essays. It skips lightly over some important events but presents a stimulating thesis.

Criticizing the counterposition of agrarian and business interests prevalent in previous studies, Moore acclaims the Readjusters as agents of modernization. Their "producerism," he contends, represented a more progressive capitalism than their opponents' financial rigidity. They stimulated economic development by freeing capital from debt service obligations and democratizing government and society. Moore distinguishes three groups within the reform coalition: democratic western Virginia farmers, Mahone's progressive business allies, and eastern rural traditionalists who deserted as the party embraced blacks and Republicans.

Most of Moore's argument is plausible and congruent with other recent research. He clarifies the gradual formation of the Readjuster movement and its fusion with Republicanism. But the book is roughhewn in some respects. Moore emphasizes Readjuster social reform measures but does not explore their legislative history to test his analysis. He tabulates party leaders but selects them impressionistically. In depicting the debt payers as traditionalists, he concentrates on nonpolitical cultural leaders. After presenting serious indications of urban Readjuster strength, he adds data from Lunenburg Court House—population 87. Rebutting Democrats' accusations that Mahone was autocratic, he overlooks similar complaints by loyal Republicans. Although well read in the literature of his subject, Moore sometimes uses general secondary citations that do not cover all his assertions. His interpretive contributions are valuable, but they deserve more persuasive exposition.

JACK P. MADDEX, JR.  
University of Oregon

DAVID B. TYACK. *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 353. \$15.00.

SELWYN K. TROEN. *The Public and the Schools: Shaping the St. Louis System, 1839-1920*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1975. Pp. xi, 248. \$11.50.

"How can you learn anything with your knees and toes out of order?" So asked, with evident sincerity, a late nineteenth-century public-school teacher when the phrase "toeing the line" was not simply an abstract command but a cardinal pedagogical principle. But to growing numbers of educators in the Progressive era, this orientation to teaching and learning appeared anachronistic. Under the banner of "efficiency," they crusaded to revamp both school governance and pedagogy and within a few years created most components of present-day urban schools.

Less comprehensive than its subtitle might suggest, Tyack's book concentrates on the years from around 1870 to 1930. Many of his themes are familiar: the conflicts over centralization of schools via the elimination of local boards, the rise and impact of academic experts in administration, the role of experimental psychologists in the development of testing and tracking, the plight of blacks in segregated schools, and the pervasive ethnocentrism in American educational ideology. Only Tyack's sections on teachers, whom he considers victims of bureaucracy on the one hand and agents of prejudice and ineptitude on the other, are strikingly original. Tyack's achievement is nonetheless real: he has synthesized early sociological and psychological studies of public schools, recent behavioral science literature, and random writings of students, teachers, and parents in a way never before attempted. Clearly revisionist, his arguments are generally more subtle, balanced, and empirically demonstrable than those of other writers on the Left. *The One Best System* is the single best account of what it must have felt like to teach and study in the Progressive era.

More modest in reach, Troen's case study of the St. Louis public schools before 1920 is equally impressive. It provides, moreover, a valuable Midwestern contrast to the studies of Boston and New York by Michael Katz, Marvin Lazerson, Stanley Schultz, Carl Kaestle, and Diane Ravitch. Most notable are Troen's insightful analyses of the German population and its influence on the curriculum; the attendance patterns of lower- and middle-class children; the familial and educational experiences of black students; the impact of the efficiency movement on school organization; and the philosophical and political battles between William Torrey Harris and Calvin Woodward, whose local rivalries add a new dimension to the

story of late nineteenth-century pedagogical controversy.

Though both of these books are welcome and significant contributions to urban educational history, they also point up the limitations of the field itself. Most educational history in the last decade has concentrated on the urban scene. Despite variations in emphasis, method, and ideological bias, they have done little more than refine the propositions advanced in Michael Katz's pioneering *Irony of Early School Reform* (1968). With the monographic literature growing ever more impressive and Tyack's able synthesis already available, it may be expected that future young scholars will begin to abandon the somewhat constraining urban framework of analysis and seek new ways of integrating education into the mainstream of American social, cultural, and political history.

STEVEN SCHLOSSMAN  
University of Chicago

WILLIAM A. BULLOUGH. *Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age: The Evolution of an Urban Institution*. (National University Publications, Interdisciplinary Urban Studies.) Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press. 1974. Pp. 183. \$12.50.

This book is a good synthesis of recent writings in the history of American education at the end of the nineteenth century. The interpretation is balanced, laying out the acute dilemmas that educators faced, revealing their assumptions, and assessing the impact of their actions on educational and social policy. The chapters cover such issues as compulsory attendance, professionalism, centralization and bureaucracy, municipal politics, the rural idyl, immigrant education, and compensatory reforms. Bullough's thesis is that educational reformers failed to recognize that urbanization required significant alterations in social welfare institutions and were instead more interested in structural and social control reforms to retain traditional values and authority relationships. The one area in which reformers made a dramatic difference was in the centralization and bureaucratization of urban schools, here echoing recent writings by David Tyack and Michael Katz that organizational reforms divorced schools from local communities and democratic politics.

There are, unfortunately, a number of weaknesses in Bullough's argument. While "urbanization" is said to cause change, other than suggesting that it means increased density and heterogeneity, the process is never delineated. The time period studied (1870-1900) severely limits the book. The debates on elementary schools were well developed by 1870; the reorganization of secondary education occurred after 1900. The pri-

mary sources are almost entirely limited to debates in national educational journals, so there is little sense of how those outside the system viewed what was happening and little on how change affected those going to school. Finally, while *Cities and Schools in the Gilded Age* is a convenient and readable summary, readers would get significantly more from David Tyack's *One Best System* (1974), the major reinterpretation of turn-of-the-century American education, and from monographs by Michael Katz, Marvin Lazerson, Clarence Karier, Joel Spring, Colin Greer, and Selwyn Troen.

MARVIN LAZERSON  
University of British Columbia

JEROME A. MOORE. *Texas Christian University: A Hundred Years of History*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press. 1974. Pp. x, 306. \$8.00.

This history of Texas Christian University was written for the university's centennial celebration by a long-time faculty member, Jerome A. Moore. TCU traces its origins to AddRan College, which opened at Thorp Springs in 1873. This college was a family affair run by Joseph Addison Clark and his two sons, Addison and Randolph. The college moved to Waco in 1896 and finally to Fort Worth in 1910. The Christian Church "adopted and endorsed" it in 1873 but was unable to offer it financial assistance until later.

After a shaky start in Fort Worth with frequent changes in leadership and false starts in academic programs, substantial growth and development took place under two long-term presidents, E. M. Waits (1916-41) and M. E. Sadler (1941-65). This is definitely a history from the "top down." Moore fills the pages with names and biographical information of one hundred years of board members, administrators, and faculty. He discusses financial problems, construction of buildings, and development of colleges and departments. But these descriptions tend to be episodic and contain little evaluation of people or events. Little attention is given to student life, town and gown relationships, or to the broader economic, social, or intellectual background. No educational philosophy of TCU emerges from these pages. In short, this is old-time university history written by loving hands for friends and alumnae.

MARY MARTHA THOMAS  
Jacksonville State University

ARTHUR G. PETTIT. *Mark Twain & the South*. [Lexington:] University Press of Kentucky. 1974. Pp. ix, 223. \$9.75.

A major theme in this book is Mark Twain's ambivalent attitude toward the South. His boy-

hood in Missouri created a romantic image later marred by the war and further sullied by the disillusionments encountered on his sentimental journey back to the Mississippi River in 1882. Thus, says Pettit, Twain moved "from Southerner to anti-Southerner to one who longed for a South he finally realized had never existed" yet remained a Southerner to the end (pp. 8-9).

On the allied motif of Twain's attitude toward blacks, a clear line of development proceeds from passive acceptance of slavery to abhorrence of it, from regarding the Negro as a minstrel show comedian to recognition of him as a man. As Pettit puts it, Mark Twain progressed "from conscious bigot to unconscious bigot to one who became fully aware of his bigotry, fought it, and largely overcame it" (p. 9) only to conclude grimly, that there can be no reconciliation between the races (p. 173).

Pettit presents these themes lucidly, elaborating with pointed detail and perceptive comment. Highlights are the good characterization of George Griffin, the illuminating treatment of the relationship between Huck and Jim in *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), and a thoughtful analysis of miscegenation, which damns both whites and blacks in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* (1894).

Less convincing is Pettit's account of Mark Twain's reversal of his pro-Southern sympathies in Nevada—a sudden change-over discussed in a chapter that suggests distortion of evidence to support a theory. There are also minor errors of fact; but these lapses do not seriously damage a book that is on the whole well done and, praises be, well written.

PAUL FATOUT  
West Lafayette, Indiana

J. MORGAN KOUSSER. *The Shaping of Southern Politics: Suffrage Restriction and the Establishment of the One-Party South, 1880-1910*. (Yale Historical Publications. Miscellany, 102.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 1974. Pp. xvii, 319. \$15.00.

The central themes of this study are that Democrats enacted election laws in the turn-of-the-century South primarily for partisan reasons and that these laws disfranchised voters in significant numbers and produced the stultified, one-party South of more recent times. In advancing his thesis, the author contests the traditional view most conspicuously stated by Vladimir O. Key in 1949 in his book *Southern Politics*. Key maintained that disfranchisement was a fact already accomplished by fraud and intimidation before the wave of constitutional provisions and laws swept through the Southern states. Professor Kousser assumes that Southern politics retained "a good deal of vigor after 1877." He argues that the effec-



tiveness of Democratic violence and intimidation in this transition period has been "overrated." Indeed, he contends that it was a time of "fluidity and freedom unknown after disfranchisement," a time when blacks and lower-class whites followed their interests to join opposition parties. The Democrats responded most effectively, not with violence or intimidation, but rather with legislation designed to disfranchise voters who supported the opposition. During the turn-of-the-century years, Democrats turned a fully developed battery of restrictive devices against their opponents in a barrage that severely reduced the electorate. The ultimate result was a "reactionary revolution" in which an elite fixed its absolute hegemony upon Southern politics and economics.

Because legal disfranchisement is the means to that end, "the identity and motivation of the disfranchisers and their opponents" become the crucial elements in explaining the origins of the reactionary revolution. To get at those elements, Kousser utilizes a computer technique called the "regression method." Using this method he makes very precise judgments about who disfranchised whom, and in what quantities. State by state the author recounts the story of disfranchisement in detail and tallies the results for each of the eleven former Confederate states. The big picture is a large decline in voter turnout, reflected accurately enough in a reduction in participation in presidential elections from sixty-two per cent in 1888 to thirty per cent in 1908, as against a decline in the non-South from seventy-three per cent to sixty-five per cent. At the same time, opposition to the Democratic party declined from twenty-five per cent to eleven per cent of the total potential electorate. The author concludes that "the fact that opposition voting usually declined quite markedly after the suffrage changes, especially in black belt areas, in itself sets out a strong circumstantial case for partisan motivation. . . . Could astute politicians who had usually spent the better parts of their lives combating insurgency have framed laws which did, in fact, so precisely accomplish party purposes with no awareness of their partisan consequences?"

The author is highly sophisticated in the subject of his study. He is also sharply critical of much of the extant scholarship. Generally, his criticism touches the way in which previous students have slighted the partisan aspect of disfranchisement. His facts lead him to conclude that Democrats disfranchised Republicans, Populists, and others primarily for partisan motives. It is possible that Kousser has himself slighted the racial motivation of the disfranchisers. One of his tables suggests that in presidential elections in the South from 1888 to 1908 Republicans polled a somewhat

steady one-third of the Democratic-Republican total, even as that total dwindled to about thirty per cent of the possible electorate. Evidently, a significant number of men were still voting Republican after legal disfranchisement had been effected. One might theorize that black Republicans had been substantially disfranchised, not white, and that Democrats had practically ceased to count fraudulently black-belt black votes for themselves. If one can assume that practiced politicians knew what they were doing, one might conclude that Democrats disfranchised black Republicans specifically because they meant to do so. Admittedly, the separation of racial from partisan motivation is difficult. Blacks were, of course, overwhelmingly Republican. To disfranchise blacks was to disfranchise Republicans. Thus, we seem driven back upon the personal statements of the disfranchisers for evidence of motivation. Clearly they avowed both motives. Kousser chooses to argue that the disfranchisers were moved by partisanship rather than race. If forced to choose, others might still give primacy to the racial motive.

JOEL WILLIAMSON  
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Chapel Hill*

THOMAS C. REEVES. *Gentleman Boss: The Life of Chester Alan Arthur*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1975. Pp. xvii, 500, xix. \$15.00.

When political spoilsman Chester A. Arthur became president in 1881, the prospects for enlightened and dynamic national leadership seemed perhaps less than zero. But, true patriot that he was, he did successfully endeavor to uphold the honor of the presidency. Such has been the traditional account. Reeves has carefully reviewed the record. He shows Arthur to have been a more skillful political organizer and manager than previous accounts indicate, but he leaves the impression that these accounts were essentially correct in their estimate. Even if there were little or nothing new in this book, however, it would be news to most people, who scarcely have taken more than passing note of Arthur. Political history remains important to an understanding of our heritage. Reeves has much that is interesting to say, and he says it well. The arresting narrative includes Arthur's boyhood in Vermont and upstate New York, his attendance at Union College, service in the Civil War, experience as a lawyer, and finally his career in professional politics.

Arthur emerges in his prepresidential years as an intelligent, skillful, and energetic political organizer and manager who served with unbounded loyalty the interests of his superiors in the Ulysses S. Grant-Roscoe Conkling faction, the Stalwarts,



of the Republican party. For this his mentors rewarded him with lucrative jobs and a place in the party hierarchy of New York State. Grossly superficial, Arthur was as addicted to elegance, glittering display, and lavish entertainment as he was seemingly immune to humanitarian concerns. He accorded little if any heed and apparently no thought to issues of the day, except to recoil from the onslaughts of "good government" crusades. But neither did most politicians of the post-Civil War era show a serious interest in such questions as regulation of business, the tariff, and currency-banking reform. They preferred postponement to performance.

Arthur was so fascinated with the process of plotting and executing political maneuvers that he neglected not only issues but his own law practice and his wife. After attending meetings on political stratagem, he would often sit on his front steps talking politics with cronies far into the night. He was not, however, a political "boss," as the title of this book suggests, but rather more a party lieutenant or henchman.

Arthur as president managed to avoid chaos by being honest and making it clear that he was no longer subservient to Roscoe Conkling and by leaving most of the work of governing to the office-holders he inherited such as James G. Blaine, the secretary of state. Reeves writes with refreshing directness and clarity, sympathetic to Arthur but in no sense apologetic for his manifest limitations.

HORACE SAMUEL MERRILL  
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College Park*

ALBERTO AQUARONE. *Le origini dell'imperialismo americano: Da McKinley a Taft (1897-1913)*. (Nuova collana storica.) Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino. 1973. Pp. 591. L. 8,000.

In recent years European scholars have been probing with increasing frequency various facets of American history. The result of this activity is a substantial literature of growing sophistication in foreign languages on the American past. This book by a member of the political science faculty of the University of Pisa is one of the latest contributions to that literature. A specialist in American as well as in Italian national history, Aquarone is well equipped for the task he set for himself. He has previously written or collaborated in the writing of works on the formative years of the American Republic and has edited a volume on the political writings of Thomas Jefferson. Now, in this present study, he has delineated the special characteristics of late nineteenth-century American imperialism and its development into the twentieth century,

particularly as compared with the contemporary imperialism of European powers.

As explained in the preface, Aquarone has not attempted a work of original scholarship based upon extensive exploration of archival sources, or even a new interpretation grounded on the secondary literature. Instead he has written a detailed, heavily documented, and carefully balanced synthesis supported by an analysis of the historiography of his subject. Specialists in American diplomatic history, therefore, will not find in this volume fresh or unusual revelations. Aquarone usually goes along with the conventional wisdom. For example, by placing the origins of America's imperialism in the 1890s he in effect accepts the traditional view of the land-grabbing continental expansionism of the earlier nineteenth century as something more respectable than the later overseas imperialism. Like quite a few other European students of United States diplomatic history, he sees economics as the basic or special ingredient in American imperialism, and he is therefore logically impressed by the idea of indirect or informal empire as advanced by William A. Williams and others of similar persuasion.

Throughout, Aquarone demonstrates a mastery of the literature on the theories of imperialism and the literature of American foreign relations. Presenting his knowledge in skillful summaries of all-important interpretations, he succeeds in his objective of making available to his own people a factually and analytically sound account of American foreign policy for the sixteen-year period he covers. He also does more. His story is so well organized, insightful, and thoroughly researched in the secondary literature that even American students of the subject will find it worthy of their attention. This is in itself an impressive achievement.

ALEXANDER DECONDE  
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Santa Barbara*

HEATH TWICHELL, JR. *Allen: The Biography of an Army Officer, 1859-1930*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 358. \$12.50.

Henry Tureman Allen was a career army officer whose life in the service spanned a period from 1878 to 1923. His first assignments included tours of duty in Montana and Alaska. In the latter he succeeded in mapping the Copper River under the most adverse circumstances. Prior to taking part in the Spanish American War, Allen was a military attaché in both Russia and Germany, and after 1898 he fought in the Philippine insurrection. While in the Philippines he organized the Constabulary, a branch of the military that was even-

tually responsible for keeping the peace in those islands. Allen was rewarded in time with a place on the General Staff Corps, and during World War I he had a divisional command. After 1919 General Allen headed the American occupation forces in Germany.

The author of this sturdy biography is Lieutenant Colonel Heath Twichell, Jr., who has a prior claim to success as the winner of the Allan Nevins Prize in 1971 for sound scholarship and literary excellence. In this, his latest effort, one finds examples of both, though Twichell must have had some difficulty in sustaining a readable narrative. After all, though Allen did have a long military career, he was no Pershing or Patton or Eisenhower. Rather he was a solid and very ambitious career man from the beginning—the kind of plodder who achieves a level of success only because of political shifts and personal determination. Twichell portrays Allen as a cold and sometimes cynical army politician who was not above letting ambition jeopardize the happiness of his family. His entire life in the army seems to have been one long struggle to get next to sources of power, and yet once he got what he wanted—a divisional command—he apparently did not know what to do with it. His service in World War I, according to some of his highly respected colleagues, lacked both drive and efficiency.

But what is important is that Twichell understands that Allen himself offers nothing unusual in the life of a career army officer at the turn of the century. The author realizes that it is the ordinary and usual that is important here—the constant struggle of army professionals for promotion and command. As Twichell puts it, a successful army officer in 1910 or thereabouts had to have “luck” and know the “right people.” Ability had relatively little to do with an officer’s assigned duties or with his promotions. Here is where the author succeeds. By merely writing of the ordinary he has provided a valuable insight into what the old army was like, and perhaps into what armies everywhere at any time are like.

VICTOR HICKEN  
Western Illinois University

GEORGE BROWN TINDALL. *The Persistent Tradition in New South Politics*. (The Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1975. Pp. xiii, 71. \$4.95.

MONROE LEE BILLINGTON. *The Political South in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1975. Pp. xiii, 205. Cloth \$8.95; paper \$3.95.

George Tindall's slim volume follows on the heels of his *Disruption of the Solid South* (1974), and both

reflect a three-lecture format, the latter delivered at Mercer University and the former at Louisiana State University as the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures. Tindall defines “persistent tradition” as the thread of continuity that ran through the transition from bourbonism through populism to progressivism in the New South. “One might argue, without advancing the point as dogma,” he observes, “that a process of dialectic had occurred. The Bourbons supplied a thesis, the Populists set up an antithesis, and the Progressives worked out a synthesis which governed southern politics through the first half of the twentieth century.” Tindall's preface succinctly summarizes his analysis: “The Bourbons had achieved the ultimate success of all durable conservative movements, the reconciliation of tradition with innovation. While inventing a New South they kept alive the vision of a traditional organic community. The Populists challenged that vision, or so at least the Bourbons thought, and thus had to be put down by fair means or foul. The Progressives, finally, while they took over certain ‘populistic’ ideas of a more active government, were the legitimate heirs of the Bourbons. Built into their synthesis was the persistent tradition of community in the South.” The three essays are consciously historiographical and written with that felicity of style that we have come to expect from George Tindall.

Monroe Billington is less sensitive to the persistence of tradition in Southern political life. He writes for a more general audience, and close students of Southern history will find no surprises. His seven chapters of analytical narrative are solid if traditional in form, and they are enlivened by occasional photographs and editorial cartoons. Billington concedes that “the weight of history militates against a reorientation of the party structure along ideological lines,” and that, as reflected in the Congress, “Southerners’ stands have been conservative on most issues facing the nation, not just civil rights for blacks even though their strongest objections have been raised in that area.” But he concludes with confidence that “one hundred years after Reconstruction the South is far along the road back to the mainstream of biracial, two-party American national politics”—and, with minimal profundity, that “southern politics have changed markedly in the immediate past, are changing now, and surely will continue to change into the long future.”

HUGH DAVIS GRAHAM  
University of Maryland,  
Baltimore County

DAVID WIGDOR. *Roscoe Pound: Philosopher of Law*. (Contributions in American History, number 33.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xi, 356. \$12.95.

The basic thesis of this excellent intellectual biography may be stated very simply: Roscoe Pound's scholarship at every stage of his career from the days of his youthful Nebraska studies in botany to his emergence as a brilliant legal philosopher of the Progressive era was characterized by an "almost intolerable tension" between originality and an underlying classic conservatism. This tension, the author believes, eventually served to inhibit powerfully Pound's ability either to explore the full implications of his own ideas or to formalize his thinking into any well-integrated system of jurisprudence.

Pound's most creative years, the author emphasizes, came between about 1907 and 1916, during which he served successively as professor of law at Northwestern, Chicago, and Harvard universities. It was an era when the pragmatic revolt against formalism in social theory was reflected in the critical relativism of Thorstein Veblen, James Harvey Robinson, Charles Beard, and Edward Ross. Essentially Pound did for philosophical jurisprudence what these men and their fellows did for economics, sociology, and history. He first systematically attacked the three prevailing classic theories of jurisprudence—analytical, historical, and natural law—as mere outworn variations of the "slot-machine theory of law" and "serious barriers to modernity" in an urban industrial age. He then formulated his own theory of "sociological jurisprudence." This called for a new pragmatism as a philosophy of law looking to the "adjustment of principles and doctrines to the human conditions they are to govern rather than to assumed first principles" (p. 187).

All this carried implications far more radical than Pound's deep-seated devotion to the classical doctrines of the common law would permit him to implement. He was superficially committed to an almost pure pragmatic "instrumentalism" in law; but his devotion to "organicism"—that is, to unity, continuity, and tradition—led him into a curious and even tragic dualism that brought his creativity virtually to an end. To the bewilderment of his devoted admirers, he sank back after 1920 or 1925 into an unimaginative conservatism, which led him to attack the new school of legal realism as philosophic anarchism, to condemn the empirical pragmatism of the New Deal, and even to lend himself to xenophobic, cold-war anti-Communist witch-hunting.

<sup>1</sup>ALFRED H. KELLY  
Wayne State University

MARY MARTHA HOSFORD THOMAS. *Southern Methodist University: Founding and Early Years*. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 224. \$12.50.

An effort in 1909 to move Southwestern University resulted in the adoption by the five Methodist Conferences in Texas of their joint educational commission's recommendation in 1911 that Southwestern be continued in Georgetown and that Southern Methodist University be created in Dallas as the major Methodist church-related institution of higher education west of the Mississippi. Professor Thomas's book contains two chapters on Methodists and higher education in Texas to 1910 and six chapters on the development of SMU in its early years (1911-40). The author frankly appraises the characteristics of Presidents Robert S. Hyer, Hiram A. Boaz, and Charles C. Selecman and gives due recognition to Methodist churchmen, Dallas citizens, and others for generous support. Episodes of controversy are treated openly and objectively, whether they involve the president and a dismissed faculty member, a faculty petition that the president resign, a controversy between faculty and trustees over athletic policy and university governance, or pressures of outside influence that led to the departure of highly qualified professors. More subjective is a chapter that describes some stalwarts as the backbone of the faculty and gives a sensitive account of these and other distinguished professors and their out-of-class contributions to the intellectual life of the university. Professor Thomas's history of her alma mater to 1940 leaves the reader hungry for a similar account of the rest of the story of SMU, especially the academic advances, growth of physical plant, and newsworthy episodes that have occurred in the last thirty-five years during the administrations of Umphrey Lee (1939-54) and Willis M. Tate (since 1954).

JEROME A. MOORE  
Texas Christian University

AARON AUSTIN GODFREY. *Government Operation of the Railroads: Its Necessity, Success, and Consequences, 1918-1920*. Austin: Jenkins Publishing Company, San Felipe Press. 1974. Pp. xxxiii, 190. \$6.95.

Publication of this superior thesis, unrevised after the author's death in 1964, is a welcome supplement to the literature. The author evaluated the vituperative attacks on the United States Railroad Administration in light of prewar policies, wartime private and public operation, and the depression of 1919. He concluded that federal operation was necessary, given the legal structure of the time, and that it saved the railroads from certain financial and operational collapse in the early months of 1918. He described clearly the administrative patterns, major policy decisions, and rationale of the Railroad Administration. The expectations of increased efficiency from government operation were unrealistic, and the wartime policies unpopular in

an age of railroad dependence. Federal control was thus widely and sometimes dishonestly attacked following the war, precluding future serious consideration of permanent nationalization. The significance of federal control lay in awakening public policy makers to the requirements of responsible regulation, which allowed the railroad companies to coordinate services and to earn the income required for adequate capital improvements.

The author is best at relating and evaluating the practices of the Railroad Administration; but he overemphasizes the importance of wartime experience in changing regulatory policy. Recent insights into the symbiotic relationship between the Interstate Commerce Commission and the railroad companies and recent events of corporate failure might have changed his conclusion that the lasting result of federal control involved "the carriers and the government commissions recognizing a mutual responsibility to the public's interest in a sound, efficient transportation system."

K. AUSTIN KERR  
Ohio State University

STEPHEN J. WHITFIELD. *Scott Nearing: Apostle of American Radicalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1974. Pp. ix, 269. \$10.95.

This is a balanced and vigorously written political biography of one of the commanding figures of modern American dissent. Driven by a searing moral concern, Scott Nearing at an early age broke with the stern conservatism of his grandfather, a tyrannical Pennsylvania coal boss, to join the Progressive struggle against child labor. As a brilliant and hugely popular economics professor at the University of Pennsylvania, his relentless social advocacy and scorching public assaults on the local plutocracy led to his dismissal from the university, provoking a controversy that impelled the newly established American Association of University Professors to set down its first theoretical guidelines for academic freedom. An ardent pacifist and by 1916 a militant socialist, Nearing was soon forced out of academic life by his outspoken opposition to World War I. As chairman of the People's Council of America, "the cutting edge of radical pacifism," he was indicted in 1918 for conspiracy to obstruct the war effort. Although acquitted, the war experience powerfully embittered Nearing, soured his faith in American democracy, and opened the way for his conversion to revolutionary communism. Even after he resigned from the Communist party in 1930 in a dispute over his privileges as an author, he remained faithful to its principles and policies, steadfastly supporting its iron subservience to Moscow.

Yet while Nearing demanded revolutionary con-

formity for others, he could not abide it personally. Incapable of disciplining his bristling Yankee individualism to any party or organization, he retreated in the early 1930s into the Vermont woods to engage in a profoundly personal experiment in simple living. This is the Nearing of contemporary countercultural renown, the defiant environmentalist and coauthor of the widely influential *Living the Good Life*. Whitfield's focus, however, is almost exclusively on Nearing's political radicalism. And here he finds Nearing's career and work beyond 1930 sorely wanting. Retreat from organized insurgency did little to enrich Nearing's social wisdom. Never an outstanding thinker, his political writings became more sharply doctrinaire and hopelessly repetitive. The once zealous spokesman for democracy and free speech became an inflexible apologist for Soviet totalitarianism. Like the promising socialist movement he had earlier championed, Nearing, too, Whitfield tells us, was one the casualties of the Great Crusade.

While thoroughly researched and admirably organized, Whitfield's study gives insufficient attention to the internal dynamics of Nearing's radical commitment and inadequate consideration to his intellectual contribution. We are warned that "this is not an intellectual portrait of Scott Nearing," that its concentration is "upon the intersection of his career with the travail of dissent in this century." Yet how are we to comprehend his life in dissent apart from a consideration of his ideas and underlying character? These formed the bedrock and buttress of his radical faith. To divorce his public activism from his intellectual achievement, moreover, is to do violence to Nearing's own conception of the proper role and function of the radical intellectual. A scholar-activist with a spirited faith in the transforming power of ideas, Nearing discerned the critical interconnection between theory and action. His radical criticism was always closely joined to his active engagement in the social cause.

While virtually impervious to the shaping influence of ideas throughout the book, Whitfield does admit to the decisive connection between character and public advocacy by explaining Nearing's retreat from organized insurgency as the result of an irreconcilable tension between his indomitable individualism and his professed allegiance to communist collectivism. Yet he fails to apply this mode of analysis throughout. Thus, while we know why Nearing left the Communist party, we have little idea of what drove him to radicalism in the first place. Nor does Whitfield satisfactorily explain how Nearing managed to reconcile the animating ideals of his radical quest—pacifism, nonviolence, and full industrial democ-



racism—with his implacable advocacy of class revolution and Stalinist repression. All of which points to the hazards of attempting political biography without a considered analysis of personality and ideology.

DONALD MILLER  
Richmond College,  
City University of New York

ROBERT A. CARO. *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. ix, 1246, xxxiv. \$17.95.

Robert Caro has authored a monumental and critical biography of Robert Moses that has received wide acclaim. Moses, New York's master builder, is a man of mind-staggering accomplishments. He personally conceived and carried through public works in excess of twenty-seven billion dollars, including in the metropolitan area alone seven of the world's largest bridges, seventeen of its most traveled expressways, fifty parks, three zoos as well as an aquarium and planetarium, and 658 playgrounds. Moses was never elected to public office. Yet through the power of personality and purse, he dominated, according to Caro, governors, mayors, the state legislature, and the city council.

As biography this book is a provocative study of a man the author perceives as avaricious and brilliant in the pursuit of power, arrogant and brutal in its use. Indeed, to Caro, Moses was a veritable moral monster in private as well as in public activities. Caro's thesis, briefly, is that Moses's vast acquisition of appointive power through his ingenious manipulation of a relatively novel civic institution, the public authority, was undemocratic and dangerous and that his achievements, oriented as they were to the use of the automobile and the needs of the middle class, have had disastrous physical and financial consequences for the city and its people. Aside from our human and professional interest in power and personality, however, what is the significance of this book for historians?

Moses is important for several reasons. As a leader in the civic life of New York for half a century, his career intersected in revealing ways with reform movements, political organizations, the changing role of government, and important historical figures. He rose to prominence as a protégé of Al Smith, became an implacable foe of FDR, wheeled and dealt with Herbert Lehman and Fiorello La Guardia, and finally met defeat in his late seventies at the hands of Nelson Rockefeller. This brief list ignores a host of lesser luminaries of the magnitude of Harold Ickes, Rexford Tugwell, John Lindsay, and Averell Harriman encountered in the course of a remarkably active life.

From the 1920s to the 1950s, Moses, with his emphasis on bridges, expressways, parks, and beaches, was a leading spokesman of the then prevailing approach to American city planning, municipal engineering. Caro here analyzes how the needs of bankers, builders, construction unions, and politicians—who became increasingly dependent on the others—dovetailed with Moses's preoccupation with monumentality. This account helps explain why the more basic needs of communities for housing, schools, and involvement in the planning process were relatively ignored.

This book should be read by anyone concerned with the twentieth-century city. There are, however, warning signs that it must be approached with great caution. Caro, an investigative reporter by background, has relied on interviews as his principal sources. Accusations have been made that these were distorted while hearsay was accepted as fact for the sake of supporting the author's argument and enhancing the salability of his book. Demonstrably, Caro has not been conscientious in checking out facts; for example, in 1930 and 1931 New York did not fire eleven thousand schoolteachers but fewer than forty-four hundred. A disturbing tendency toward exaggeration and oversimplification is present throughout. Moses's refusal to alter the route of an expressway is viewed as responsible for destroying the lower-middle-class Jewish neighborhood of East Tremont; yet we know that similar neighborhoods throughout the South Bronx also succumbed to the complex process of racial transition without assistance from Moses.

Caro is of course right in his view that Moses held too many important jobs at the same time for the good of the city. Undoubtedly, Moses was autocratic, and, refusing to heed advice, made many bad decisions, such as his failure to allow for the future accommodation of mass transit facilities along expressway right of ways. Whether this warrants Caro's attack on Moses as a man whose actions irreparably damaged the city is, however, another matter. The book, then, is an interesting and controversial work whose accuracy, perspective, and overall value are difficult to assess at this time.

STANLEY BUDER  
Baruch College,  
City University of New York

DONALD J. LISIO. *The President and Protest: Hoover, Conspiracy, and the Bonus Riot*. [Columbia:] University of Missouri Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 346. \$12.50.

Professor Lisio has produced a fascinating study of a complex and significant episode in twentieth-century American history. His book is comprehen-



sively researched, cogently organized, and attractively written. While presenting a well-paced suspenseful story, the author looks searchingly into the critical issues raised by the events he describes.

Herbert Hoover is, of course, the principal protagonist in the veterans' bonus drama, and the main contribution of this book is the new light it casts upon his record and reputation. Lisio regards himself as a revisionist on Hoover and uses the recently opened materials at the Hoover Library to correct some established views. He demonstrates, for example, that Hoover was concerned about equity for war veterans and that he did not order the rout of the Bonus Expeditionary Force, carried out by General Douglas MacArthur. Lisio's "revision," however, shows Hoover a poorer president than we thought in other respects. Hoover tolerated and concealed MacArthur's disobedience of his orders, in dealing with the bonus marchers he showed a perverse stubbornness and administrative ineptness, in situation after situation he chose silence and secrecy rather than frankness with the press and public. Lisio makes the specific indictment of the president's actions following the bonus riot and rout: "Because Hoover unwisely acquiesced to his advisers' theory of conspiracy and because his opponents' criticisms deeply wounded him, he first attempted to cover up his administration's blunders, then ignored important evidence that discredited the red plot theory, and finally participated in the effort to mislead the public" (p. 312).

My chief reservation about the book is the special pleading of the author in an apparent attempt to polish certain facets of Hoover's image. Space permits but one instance: Lisio refers to Hoover as the "chief benefactor" of the war veterans (p. 25). He links this doubtful characterization to Hoover's covert backing of the Disability Act of 1930, which increased benefits for some veterans. But he quotes Hoover himself as explaining later that he had supported the bill only "in order to avoid passage over the veto of another bill which would have called for three times the annual expenditure" (p. 22). Flaws such as this special pleading mar an otherwise splendid work.

THOMAS H. GREER  
Michigan State University

HELEN M. BURNS. *The American Banking Community and New Deal Banking Reforms, 1933-1935*. (Contributions in Economics and Economic History, number 11.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press. 1974. Pp. xiii, 203. \$11.95.

The attractiveness of history, in many a graduate school, has been underscored by the long gestation

period for dissertations by the already employed. They toil through many a year while garnering degrees. Here the fruition, for Burns, has been a B.A., B.S., M.S., and Ph.D., with a typewritten dissertation microfilmed in 1965 and finally printed in 1974. Formerly employed by the Maryland State Planning Commission, she is now chief law librarian in the law library division of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Her analysis of the formulation of the remedial banking legislation of 1933-35 stresses that bankers did not dominate lawmaking and that the president remained basically committed to the dual-banking system even while shifting his stance to alleviate intolerable strains on the economy. The realms of credit control and monetary management are discussed only as they are directly related to consideration of reform legislation. The contemporary theories of money and banking are plainly set forth in convenient summary. Besides Roosevelt, the most frequently cited personalities are Eccles, Glass, Harrison, Hoover, Meyer, Mills, Morgenthau, and Steagall, but, throughout, the author carefully avoids playing any favorites. A comparison of the 1974 text with that of 1965 reveals an occasional sharpening of definition in line with the author's obvious intent to be fair and accurate. The notes stay clear of works published since 1965.

JEANNETTE NICHOLS  
University of Pennsylvania

RONALD RADOSH. *Prophets on the Right: Profiles of Conservative Critics of American Globalism*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 1975. Pp. 351. \$9.95.

Professor Radosh re-examines the American road to World War II and the subsequent cold war from the perspectives of five nonconformists: Charles Beard, John Flynn, Oswald Villard, Robert Taft, and Lawrence Dennis.

A careful pruning of the literary remains of these men yields some surprises. Wayne Morse was a onetime hawk. Arguments of this quintet of "traditional conservatives" frequently paralleled those of left-wing critics of global meddling. Taken together, these five dissenters feared the emergent "imperial presidency," alerted the country to the perils of the Vietnamese morass, and doubted the solidity of the presumed Communist monolith.

These "prophets," however, were more often wrong than right. Participation in general war did not cripple free enterprise or end "democratic government in the United States." Eisenhower did not prove to be, as Flynn feared, a "collectivist" radicalized while president of Columbia.

The conduct of some of these five is more open to criticism than their faulty guesswork. Flynn ac-

tively supported McCarthy, thus fanning the flames of the Russophobia that he allegedly deplored. Dennis once called for fascism, American style, while Taft in 1951 supported MacArthur's grandiose military blueprint. Flynn and Beard pioneered the Pearl Harbor conspiracy theory that has been rejected by qualified experts.

Radosh's work would have been more fruitful had he not judged these men solely from his own leftist position. Thus he greatly overemphasizes economic motives in explaining Roosevelt's anti-Axis diplomacy and the decision of the Truman administration for the Marshall Plan. FDR often acted with duplicity during the neutrality debate, but the fact remains that no responsible president could have risked an Axis victory. Even the causation for the cold war is far more complex than Radosh grants. To assume that World War II set off a chain reaction of American expansionism ignores the subsequent factors that enlighten the tortuous road from Hiroshima to Saigon.

The author wishes to recover valuable lost alternatives. Some of these choices, if made, would have rendered Vietnam and Watergate unlikely. Others were downright foolish, such as Villard's devotion to the Ludlow Amendment or Beard's stubborn faith in foolproof neutrality laws. Dennis was, at one time, "uncritically admiring of Hitler." Fortunately for civilization, the great majority of Americans did not share this approbation.

SELIG ADLER  
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FRANZ KNIPPING. *Die amerikanische Russlandpolitik in der Zeit des Hitler-Stalin-Pakts 1939-1941*. (Tübinger Studien zur Geschichte und Politik, number 30.) Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck). 1974. Pp. xiv, 258. DM 64.

In examining the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union from the inception of the Hitler-Stalin Pact to the German attack upon Russia, the author asks, adequately enough, whether there was sufficient consistency in the American government's attitude to label it a "policy." His conclusion is that the understanding and help the Soviet Union received from the United States after the German onslaught did not constitute a break with any former American aloofness or hostility, as is occasionally alleged. Russia, while certainly of secondary importance compared with Great Britain, Germany, or Japan, increasingly gained the attention of the policy makers in Washington. In the Far East she could be a natural partner of the United States in restraining Japanese ambitions; in Europe she held the balance of power between the Axis countries and their

opponents. Especially after the Hitler-Stalin Pact had been signed, it was to be feared that awkward Western behavior might push the Soviets fully onto Hitler's side; skillful treatment, though, could keep them not only neutral, but might also leave an avenue open for their future alignment with the West.

The events after Russia's forced entry into the war were to show the success of the latter course, which, as the author is convinced, originated in Roosevelt's well-known antineutralist beliefs. Of course, many in the American government and even the president himself occasionally had their hesitations, particularly when Russia attacked Finland in late 1939. But *Realpolitik* prevailed over ideological considerations, and adverse opinions like that of Ambassador Steinhardt in Moscow were more or less being ignored.

The strength of Knipping's book lies in the presentation of detail that up to now was difficult to come by. Some doubt remains, though, whether the line of development he describes was as coherent as he endeavors to prove. There is enough evidence in his own work to suggest that American policy had several options, and that the route finally taken was not always considered the obvious one.

UDO SAUTTER  
*University of Windsor*

ROBERT A. DIVINE. *Foreign Policy and U.S. Presidential Elections*. Volume 1, 1940-1948; volume 2, 1952-1960. New York: New Viewpoints. 1974. Pp. xii, 353; x, 359. Cloth \$12.50 each, paper \$4.95 each.

World War II and the cold war have transformed American society and politics, a transformation reflected in the primacy of defense budgets, in the prominence given to discussions of foreign policy in Congress and the press, and by the imperial growth of those institutions charged with the conduct of military and foreign affairs. In this study of foreign policy and presidential elections, Robert Divine has attempted to explore one dimension of that transformation.

Focusing on the speeches and the strategies of presidential campaigners, Divine has chronicled the way in which the candidates have employed the rhetoric of diplomacy in their quest for votes, from Franklin Roosevelt's carefully worded promise to keep American boys out of "foreign" wars to John Kennedy's vague pledge to get the nation moving again. He also shows how, in a world made anxious by the threat of war and nuclear holocaust, election strategists have sought to capitalize on foreign crises as a means of engineering popular support. Thus in 1944 Hadley Cantril, the Princeton public-opinion analyst, counseled the

White House that "anything that can be done to maintain the sense of crisis with respect to the peace as well as the war would be most advantageous." Four years later, Clark Clifford advised Truman that "the worse matters get, up to a fairly certain point—real danger of imminent war—the more is there a sense of crisis." He continued that in times of crisis "the American citizen tends to back up his President." Similarly, in 1952 a Republican campaign plan, approved by Dwight Eisenhower, called on the GOP to stress the failures of Democratic foreign policy in order to exploit "an international situation today that causes Americans . . . to fear for their national security and lives."

The prominence of foreign policy issues has not, however, contributed to democratic accountability in the conduct of diplomacy or to an informed public debate. Indeed Divine concludes that with few exceptions "campaign statements and promises did not have an appreciable impact on the future course of American diplomacy" and that presidential aspirants, rather than seeking to educate the electorate, "reduced complex issues to banal slogans, thereby preventing a rational debate over American foreign policy." Surveying this dreary record, Divine nevertheless concludes with the bland assurance that despite the deception and dishonesty of presidential politics, the American people have somehow been able to choose presidents capable of providing wise leadership in foreign affairs, men who once elected could turn their backs on the stereotypes of campaign politics and focus instead on the somber complexities of a world in crisis.

*Foreign Policy and U.S. Presidential Elections* is written in a straightforward, narrative style, with virtually no analysis. It focuses somewhat narrowly on presidential candidates and their staffs, with almost no attention to the role of Congress, the federal bureaucracy, special interest groups, or political parties. The elections are not related to one another, and there is no attempt to draw conclusions based on comparative analysis. Nor is there any effort to analyze systematically public opinion or voting behavior, or to draw firm relationships between elite and mass behavior. The use of public opinion and voting data is impressionistic and sometimes confusing. Thus at one point Divine suggests (quoting George Gallup) that in 1940 voters preferred Roosevelt because of his handling of foreign policy, but later concludes (citing Samuel Lubell) that Roosevelt's success rested primarily on his ability to hold together the New Deal coalition and that "the war, rather than ensuring Roosevelt's victory, may well have narrowed his margin." In discussing the election of 1944, Divine cites polls that suggest that the war

was the Democrats' "greatest asset," only to conclude that Roosevelt's victory was produced by an urban vote keyed to economic and social gains rather than world affairs. Indeed the reader is left to wonder whether or not debate over foreign affairs really influenced the outcome of any single election.

What remains is a useful and frequently informative account of presidential campaigning, but one that is unfortunately limited in what it tells us about the complex and provocative interplay of foreign policy and American politics.

ROBERT GRIFFITH  
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Amherst*

WILLIAM D. BARNARD. *Dixiecrats and Democrats: Alabama Politics, 1942-1950*. University: University of Alabama Press. 1974. Pp. viii, 200. \$7.95.

The tide of anti-New Deal sentiment in Deep South states like Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, which finally flooded the politics of that region following World War II and Roosevelt's death, is a well-known tale. Professor Barnard has picked up the chronicle at that point to center upon the temporary postwar aberrations that postponed the conservative ascendancy and even earned Alabama an accolade from *Nation* in 1947 as "the most liberal state in the South." At that point it was still in sharp contrast to the Strom Thurmond-South Carolina situation, as pictured, for example, in Robert Sherrill's *Gothic Politics in the Deep South* (1968).

In this essay-length work—146 pages of text—the central and dominant figure is that of James E. "Big Jim" Folsom. Folsom's rise to gubernatorial victory in 1946 and the geographical basis for his support are carefully analyzed by county and region. It is the author's contention that Folsom owed even more in political philosophy to his hero Andrew Jackson than to the Populists. He finds the geographical support in each of these instances—including such other dissent as antisecessionism—to be concentrated in the small farm district of the northern Alabama hill country and in a few hard-scrabble counties of the "Wiregrass" southeast. But the populist liberal support, which put Senators Hill and Sparkman into office, was split by the Folsom-Sparkman clashes, enabling the states' rights elements to gain control of state machinery. These factional lines, drawn in 1948, are still largely present.

The book only fitfully illuminates the Dixiecrat phenomenon, for it is built entirely upon and around the political career and special talents

of the strongly liberal, but erratic and unpredictable, "Big Jim" Folsom.

RALPH F. DE BEDTS  
*Old Dominion University*

ALLEN YARNELL. *Democrats and Progressives: The 1948 Presidential Election as a Test of Postwar Liberalism*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 155. \$8.95.

It was inevitable that a reinterpretation of the role of the Progressive party in the election of 1948 would come. Allen Yarnell's study of Democrats and Progressives contends that the old view of Henry Wallace's party forcing Harry Truman to take a liberal stance is in error. In fact, he says Truman did not assume a liberal domestic policy for this reason, and the existence of the Progressives allowed him to take a tougher position in foreign affairs. The work also purports to use the election as a test case of third-party influence in the pattern of John Hicks's study of the Populist. But Yarnell deals largely with Democrats and liberals and ignores Progressive influence, if any, on Republicans and Dixiecrats. These topics, however, merit a study of their own.

This work is a solid, well-researched, and well-written history containing valuable strengths. It documents the importance of Clark Clifford on the Truman strategy especially in the analysis and appeal to bloc votes such as labor and ethnic groups. It shows this was done to offset potential Republican strength. The book outlines the fledgling Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) and their competition with Wallace for the national liberal vote, and it discusses the ironic twist that liberals formed the backdrop of the McCarthy era. Yarnell is particularly good in proving that Wallace failed in his main objective—to make peace and improved relations with Russia a major campaign issue. He is convincing in reminding the audience that the American public was not ready, and that the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan both predate the election of 1948.

A second major strength is the balanced presentation of the evidence by Yarnell. Despite his thesis he deals with both sides of conflicting interpretations. He shows both Truman's and Wallace's point of view on the latter's speech at Madison Square Garden that led to his resignation. Yarnell demonstrates that the Taft-Hartley veto—before the election campaign—was in part to undercut a potential Wallace appeal; that the ADA and the Democratic research division had many of the same people; that the Clifford memorandum contained a method for "The Insulation of Henry Wallace" and a suggestion to move left in his appointment policy; and that the Democrats

feared Wallace enough to hire an anti-Wallace propagandist who was subsequently not used. He finally uses the Truman speech at Los Angeles on September 23, when he appealed to liberals not to waste their vote on the Progressives, and the various other attempts to identify the Progressives with Communist influence. All of these could refute his thesis, yet he gives each with the swirl of conflicting facts surrounding them. To illustrate: at one point Yarnell deals with Barton Bernstein's and William Berman's contention that the existence of Wallace moved Truman left in the field of civil rights and comments, "To a degree both of these men are correct." Yarnell contends that what they overlooked was the feared black defection to the Republicans. Despite a balanced and objective handling of this issue a few pages later, he concludes, "It is a hard and cold fact that the Wallace forces did not push the Democratic party into new positions. The fabled Truman shift did not occur." The only serious weakness of the study is that it claims too much. Its strengths in giving a more balanced account of this important election far outweigh this and make it a must for students interested in the Truman era.

WILLIAM L. ZIGLAR  
*Eastern College*

JAMES F. SCHNABEL. *Policy and Direction: The First Year*. (United States Army in the Korean War.) Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Army. 1972. Pp. xvii, 443, 11 maps. \$8.75.

This volume is a major contribution to the history of the Korean War. Consisting largely of a detailed and dispassionate account of the dialogue between the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington and their theater commander, General Douglas MacArthur, it treats the period from June 1950 to June 1951. This dramatic first year of the war saw the onslaught on the North Koreans across the thirty-eighth parallel, the desperate efforts of the South Koreans and the United Nations forces to retain a foothold on the peninsula, the brilliant amphibious landing at Inchon, the general advance almost to the Yalu, the unexpected entry of the Chinese, the dramatic reversal of military fortunes, months of hard fighting, the relief of General MacArthur, and, finally, a precarious equilibrium that marked the beginning of the armistice negotiations.

Schnabel's is not an operational history but rather, as the subtitle indicates, an account of policy and direction. In theory at least, policy was formulated by the Joint Chiefs acting under the direction of President Truman as commander in chief and the United Nations, while direction—the carrying out of policy—was under General Mac-



Arthur. But as Clausewitz warned us, policy and direction cannot always be neatly separated, for war has a way of developing its own momentum, its own rationale, its own felt necessities. In Korea, policy and direction became hopelessly intertwined, and in one of the greatest crises in the history of civil-military relations in the United States, General MacArthur was relieved of all his commands because he could not or would not accept the policy laid down by his superiors.

Concerning the Truman-MacArthur controversy, Schnabel does not make any startling revelations that have not already been disclosed or at least suggested by the MacArthur hearings and the memoirs produced by various high-ranking participants. His contribution rather is a well-balanced thoroughness. Beginning his research in 1951, soon after the events he describes, Schnabel was able to examine many documents in the Far Eastern Command that will probably never again be available to historians. Combining the evidence presented by the theater records with the records of the Joint Chiefs, Schnabel marshals the bewildering and complex developments into an understandable narrative, which, on the one hand brings out the idiosyncracies, faults, and virtues of MacArthur and on the other hand ably documents the inconsistencies, competing pressures, and dilemmas of American policy making at the highest level. The result is a first-class piece of research and writing.

In a day of inflation this book is a bargain; the packet of maps alone is worth the purchase price.

HARRY L. COLES  
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STANLEY ELKINS and ERIC MCKITTRICK, editors. *The Hofstadter Aegis: A Memorial*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974. Pp. xiv, 384, xi. \$10.00.

Fourteen of Richard Hofstadter's former graduate students have combined their considerable talents in creating this book as a tribute to the late master historian, under whom they had worked at Columbia University. The text includes ten essays on a wide variety of topics, the most complete listing available of Hofstadter's writings, and, most important for illumination of Hofstadter himself, a lengthy effort by Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick to explore the progress of Hofstadter's thought.

Richard Hofstadter (1916-70), as the book's jacket proclaims, was "pre-eminent" among American historians of his generation. He was a historians' historian. Before he was thirty, he published articles in the *American Historical Review*, *New England Quarterly*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *Journal of Negro History*, as well as his famous book *Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915* (1944). There followed a long line of books and articles, "luminous in their grace of expression, subtlety of scholarship, range of inquiry, and variety of method."

Rapidly Hofstadter's influence grew. His second book, *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (1948), revealed a mind that encompassed its subjects and delighted in itself. His insights opened up the borderland between the history of ideas and orthodox political history. According to Elkins and McKittrick, "He wanted to explore the conditions under which men think, and the values that set bounds to what and how they think, and to him one of the most fascinating fields in which this might be observed was politics." In *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (1955), the foremost book on progressive reform, Hofstadter went a long way toward the "consensual" position in undermining Beard's and Parrington's analysis of America's past. Yet, like his illustrious predecessors, he saw the reform tradition as the outstanding feature of American political life in the twentieth century, notwithstanding its inner contradictions. Unlike those historians who have argued that the progressive movement never took place, or, if it did, that it represented the conservative triumph of political capitalism, he never fully relinquished the older viewpoint that the struggle between the "people" or their representatives and business enterprise somehow lay close to the essence of progressivism. His interest in the role of education in formulating popular thinking while being shaped in turn by democratic politics produced other books of lasting value. His consummatory effort to write a massive history of the United States was interrupted by his death, which occurred, ironically, as he began work on the Great Awakening. That fragment appeared posthumously as *America at 1750: A Social Portrait* (1971).

The "theme," if such it can be termed, of this memorial is the intellectual autonomy Hofstadter encouraged in his students: "Discipleship was a thing he never asked for probably because it never occurred to him." It was their work—Hofstadter's and his students—that was "the great leveler, and the great object—at once transcendent and impersonal—was that it should succeed." Marvin Meyers on James Madison, Linda Kerber on educating women, Eric Foner on Thaddeus Stevens, and Otis L. Graham, Jr. have all succeeded in continuing Hofstadter's tradition.

The problem with a random assortment of essays published in book form, as these are, is that individually they will all too easily be lost from view, their merits notwithstanding. As a book *The*



*Hofstadter Aegis* fails. Its tribute to Richard Hofstadter, however, is an enterprise in which legions of historians can join gratefully.

ARTHUR P. DUDDEN  
*Bryn Mawr College*

ROBERT H. BRISBANE. *Black Activism: Racial Revolution in the United States, 1954-1970*. Valley Forge: Judson Press. 1974. Pp. 332. \$10.00.

This book on the black revolution from 1954 to 1970 by a political scientist is based almost entirely on secondary sources. It contains the expected chapters on Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, "The Long Hot Summers," the Black Panthers, and so on. There is nothing new in the volume that has not been covered better elsewhere. Moreover, the book omits such important topics as local black protest movements in the North, black activists' relations with white activists, and the dynamics of interorganizational relationships. The author believes that "the activist phase" of the black revolution ended in 1970, but he fails to come to grips with the basic question of what factors were responsible for bringing this about. Nowhere, by the way, is "activism" actually defined—it includes black politics as well as direct action and revolutionary nationalism, and of course political activism is now very much with us. Finally, the book is largely unanalytical; where the author makes attempts at historical generalization, the results are often distorted and inaccurate.

ELLIOTT RUDWICK  
*Kent State University*

ALAN F. WESTIN and BARRY MAHONEY. *The Trial of Martin Luther King*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1974. Pp. viii, 342. \$7.95.

For violating the Alabama circuit court's ex parte injunction of further mass demonstrations in Birmingham, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and ten aides were convicted of criminal contempt and sentenced, on April 22, 1963, to fifty-dollar fines and five-days' imprisonment.

From the cell to which he had been confined for violating such a law, King redacted his chef-d'oeuvre on civil disobedience, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," which distinguished between "God's" or "moral" law, which must be obeyed, and "unjust" or "pseudo" law, which may, in special circumstances, be defied.

By the time the United States Supreme Court heard the case of *Walker v. City of Birmingham* in June 1967—the state supreme court had deliberated for more than two years—King's popularity and the national patience with civil disobedience had considerably diminished. "We do not real-

ize," Justice Holmes observed in his *Common Law* nearly a century ago, "how large a part of our law is open to reconsideration upon a slight change in the habit of the public mind." *Walker v. City of Birmingham* was stunningly paradigmatic of a law moved by the general will, for, after more than a decade of civil rights victories, the Supreme Court upheld the Birmingham convictions.

*The Trial of Martin Luther King* explains why the Court ruled as it did and argues that it erred in doing so. Necessarily, much of the text is devoted to fairly intricate legal exposition that requires exceedingly careful, though not overtaxing, reading by those outside the legal profession. Since the landmark cases of *In re Debs* (1895), *Howat v. Kansas* (1922), and *United States v. United Mine Workers* (1946), state and federal courts have almost invariably held that the legality of injunctions may not be contested during contempt proceedings. Thus when Birmingham's attorneys quoted Martin King's defiant words to a surprised Justice Tom Clark, "Just as in all good conscience we cannot obey unjust laws, neither can we respect the unjust use of the courts," Justice Potter Stewart's majority opinion (the Court split 5 to 4) concluded, "Respect for judicial process is a small price to pay for the civilizing hand of the law." The verdict in the Mine Workers case that, whatever their legality, injunctions must be obeyed and that contempt penalties are enforceable even if the restraining order is subsequently annulled, was inflexibly applied in the Birmingham case.

Professors Westin and Mahoney believe that the *Walker* decision resulted from the political climate of the late 1960s. They are unruffled by the now fashionable arguments that King and the civil rights ferment have unintentionally undermined respect for law by their appeals to "higher" laws. In this context, the authors' discussion of the Watergate principals' appeal to a "higher" law of national security is extremely interesting. It is even more interesting to speculate upon what they might have written about the current antibusing furor had they gone to press one year later. Essentially, Westin and Mahoney hold that social progress for the disadvantaged is partly a function of social protest and that the courts must concede this reality, as indeed some recent Supreme Court decisions have done, by permitting those who defy injunctions to argue constitutionality at their contempt hearings.

This is a fine book, raising fundamental questions besetting a democratic society. The authors are equally at home discussing legal precedents and richly rehearsing high points in civil rights history. There is, however, a puzzling factual inaccuracy in their section on the Selma Bridge compromise, but this is a mere quibble that scarcely

mars this significant addition to the literature on the turbulent sixties.

DAVID LEWIS  
Federal City College

ALEXANDER KENDRICK. *The Wound Within: America in the Vietnam Years, 1945-1974*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1974. Pp. xii, 432. \$12.95.

SANDY VOGELGESANG. *The Long Dark Night of the Soul: The American Intellectual Left and the Vietnam War*. New York: Harper and Row. 1974. Pp. 249. \$8.95.

Kendrick, a well-known broadcaster and correspondent, has written a lively, journalistic history of American involvement in Vietnam and of home-front problems related, sometimes loosely, to the war. Devoting nearly three-quarters of his volume to the period from 1960 to 1973, he condemns policy makers for the war, explains American involvement in terms of the containment of communism, notes the role of some American academics in promoting American intervention, and laments the willingness of Congress and the people to accede for years to American participation in this war. He is not primarily analytical but descriptive, relying on the pungent sentence, the evocative phrase, the quick insight. Because he aimed to do more on the domestic side than examine how the Vietnam war tore apart America but less than write a full history of post-World War II America at home, the book is an uneasy but often engaging compromise: Dylan, Woodstock, and Altamont, the Free Speech movement and Columbia, Attica and Kent State, the Black Panthers and SNCC, the Weathermen and the Harrisburg Seven, George Wallace and the FBI, Nader's Raiders and Watergate are all included. Few themes are carefully sustained, few problems closely examined, few movements calmly dissected. *The Wound Within* is written with verve, filled with disappointment and hope, awaiting the redemption of democracy in 1976: "the beginning of Re-Americanization"—the establishment of social harmony and racial peace, justice and civility, national trust and honor, and the ending of official deceit at home and military interventions abroad.

Less troubled by the recent past, Sandy Vogelgesang, a young Foreign Service officer, focuses on one part of the "wound within": the intellectual Left's responses to the war during 1960 to 1968. Unfortunately, her slender volume is limited in scope and flawed in analysis. Restricting her study primarily to the *New Republic*, *Partisan Review*, the *New York Review of Books*, and less frequently to *Studies on the Left*, *Dissent*, and *Commentary*, she generally overlooks such important sections of the Left as *Liberation*, *Monthly Review*, and *Ramparts*. More-

over, she sometimes casually lumps together radicals and liberals while other times she charts *some* aspects of the schisms in the liberal camp that led to much of the radicalism of the late sixties.

Most of the intellectual Left, whether liberal or radical, moved, she contends, through three stages in their analysis of American involvement in the Indochina conflict: United States policies from the early sixties to January 1965 were attributed to "a lapse in judgment," from February 1965 to December 1966 to "an exercise in immorality," from January 1967 to December 1968 to "a reflection of political illegitimacy." Though this schematic survey is useful, Vogelgesang provides little analysis of the structures of liberal and radical thinking and only occasional references to the background and earlier positions of the many people who dot her book, but she vigorously advances her own opinions. Often she finds irresponsible such radicals as Dwight Macdonald, Staughton Lynd, Noam Chomsky, and Paul Goodman for "lapsing into nihilism and dissociation from the government [and thereby failing to] exercise . . . political and moral responsibility." Her judgment is dominated by her own standard of responsibility—serving the power of the state by moderately criticizing it or by offering programs that may soon convert the electorate. Her test is, in short, a coherent political program that can be promptly achieved, and her boss, Henry Kissinger, she loyally maintains, is no mandarin.

In charting what she judges the excesses of the radicals—their attacks on liberalism and "their rhetorical excesses"—she reveals little understanding of the strain of critical social thought, reborn in America in the sixties, that rejects piecemeal reform, views liberalism as an ally of established power, and calls instead, in the words of Barrington Moore in 1962, for "destructive criticism of a destructive system." Even those many historians who share her opinions and easily reject this radical thought will find her book disappointing, at best a quick, opinionated survey full of quotations and summaries from which serious intellectual analysis can begin. The war and the issues it raised about revolution and reform, liberalisms and radicalisms, imperialism and power, ideology and legitimacy, American exceptionalism and social cohesion, and the responsibilities of intellectuals and the proper uses of knowledge—these matters, at the heart of disputes in the sixties, still await their masterful interpreter, who will penetrate deeply into American intellectual communities and expand our understanding of what shattered friendships, split universities, and inflamed so many polemics.

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN  
Stanford University

## CANADA

JANICE ACTON *et al.*, editors. *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press. 1974. Pp. vi, 405. Cloth \$12.50, paper \$6.00.

This book attempts several things at once, and generally succeeds in all of them. First, as an exercise in the new social history, conceived and written within a Marxist framework, it is an important contribution to the history of women in Canada. Second, as an exercise in the collective writing of history, it is an interesting product of the contemporary women's movement. Finally, it is a persuasive plea for the production of more works in women's history.

A lucid introductory essay on the changing economy of Ontario, from the early nineteenth century to the early twentieth, is followed by chapters on the prostitute viewed not as a social deviant but as the supplier of a service, on the domestic servant, and on the professions of nursing and teaching. I personally found the most interesting and provocative chapter to be on the problems of working women as viewed by the women themselves and by the middle-class reformers who sought to aid them. There follow chapters on the employment of women during World War I, the problems of working women during the Great Depression, and such women's tactics as community action and trade-union activity in their struggles for better working conditions.

The collective approach has enabled the writers to cross disciplinary lines and to assemble a mass of interesting material based on wide reading in both primary and secondary sources that is clearly detailed in the notes accompanying each chapter. Most chapters also have enough statistics, both within the text and in tabular form, to please the most ardent player of the numbers game. However, there is a good bit of unnecessary repetition throughout. Most of the chapters would have benefited considerably from tighter organization, greater economy in writing—the text runs to 361 pages—and closer attention to matters of style. Perhaps, after all, a single editorial blue pencil is better than several.

Throughout, the writers' enthusiasm for their subject is obvious and infectious, their insights are many, and their conclusions, when tentative, are presented as such with engaging frankness. The volume concludes with a research guide that, in addition to a fine bibliography, includes a brief section on how to do research. The title and purpose of this section will likely startle readers of the *AHR* and similar journals, as will its assumption, which is false, that male academics cannot or will not write women's history, so enthusiastic female

amateurs must do the job. This particular venture, I hasten to add, is by no means amateurish. There only remains to say that the book is attractively produced—cleanly printed and larded with interesting illustrations. On the whole, all concerned in this production can take justifiable pride in their achievement.

LEE HOLCOMBE  
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Spartanburg*

MARCEL HAMELIN. *Les premières années du parlementarisme québécois (1867-1878)*. (Les cahiers d'histoire de l'Université Laval, number 19.) Quebec: Presses de l'Université Laval; distrib. by International Scholarly Book Services, Portland, Ore. 1974. Pp. xii, 386. \$12.50.

It is a deplorable, sad, and true comment on the historiography of the province of Quebec that neither specific nor more general monographs exist on such basic political institutions as the local provincial assembly. Marcel Hamelin's excellent monograph truly breaks new ground, and this within the frame of what is a very traditional approach indeed: he carefully and conscientiously sets out to analyze the first ten years of the parliamentary life of Quebec, and does so successfully.

Two recent reviews, written by journalists it should be added, chose to isolate and underline corruption and English-French relations in their considerations of this work. These matters are certainly noted by Hamelin, but his book is deserving of better notices. What he is concerned with is to describe the institutional framework within which the new province functioned. The establishment of the federal system provided for sixty-five constituencies on the local level and the same number on the federal level: under the union government, half that number had existed. A few deputies were elected on both levels, until this was abolished. Significantly, the provincial and federal Houses did not meet on the same dates: this permitted the double-mandated members to devote their spare moments to the local assembly. In effect, the Legislative Assembly of Quebec was a branch-plant operation of the important political figures, English and French, of the federal government.

The staffing of a new political institution, its control, more or less, by federal authorities, and the establishment of a local civil service—for most of the experienced government employees had followed the government to Ottawa, the federal capital—were the immediate problems. The personnel of the new government then attacked, in their leisurely way, the great problems of the day: the population hemorrhage of Quebec owing to the immigration of a large number of French Cana-

dians to the United States, colonization, and last, but by no means least, railways and subsidies.

Today's neonationalist historians of Quebec, as well as any reader, would, no doubt, be somewhat surprised at the low-level scale of activity and policy in Quebec in these first years of Confederation. Effectively, the dominant political elite—professional, commercial, and urban based—represented the interests of what was still a somewhat large village, physically, and certainly in terms of mentality. Hamelin's presentation is radically different from that of Robert Rumilly who presents English-French or provincial-federal relations as being the most important. Hamelin's analysis demonstrates that economic matters and not nationalism were the primary concern of the legislators. He also soundly establishes the local nature of political issues as against a provincial or federal scope, an assessment rich in possibilities for further study. It is a comment on the value of this book that one can only deplore the fact that Marcel Hamelin has become a dean of the arts faculty of the University of Ottawa: deans do not have time to research.

CAMERON NISH  
*Sir George Williams of Concordia*

MICHAEL BLISS. *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911*. (The Canadian Social History Series.) [Toronto:] McClelland and Stewart. 1974. Pp. 160. \$3.95.

Professor Bliss's book, a revision of his dissertation and one of the first volumes in the new Canadian Social History series, "is a collection of studies in the thought of Canadian businessmen." Its aim is "simply to find out and report upon the most important and interesting ideas businessmen held in the years 1883 to 1911." Six chapters discuss the success and work ethics of businessmen, their "flight from competition" through restrictive practices that will guarantee them "a living profit," their ideas about the welfare of the worker, their general hostility to unionism, their great concern that protectionism be maintained and its benefits appreciated, and their attitudes toward other groups and sets of ideas within the community. Relying largely upon trade and commercial journals, Bliss fulfills his aim of describing prevalent business ideas on these major themes. One is pleased to find a sympathetic description of the success ethic and of the ideology of protectionism and national interest, and one is sometimes amazed at the easy arrogance of businessmen toward others. Contemptuous or patronizing of labor, farmers, professional men, and politicians, business spokesmen were obviously proud of their own calling.

The book is neatly researched, tidily organized,

and smoothly written. But many readers are likely to come away dissatisfied. There is something tiring about the author's apologetics toward his subject and his method—about the question of the sincerity of his businessmen's writings and the quality of their social thought—and something suspicious about the aggressiveness of his swipes at professors. More important, this type of writing is as close to intellectual history as it is to social history, but it lacks much of the framework necessary for successfully analyzing and explaining ideas. Bliss might have aimed at something beyond simply reporting ideas. He generalizes and, perhaps too frequently, employs effortless adjectival judgments, but only occasionally does he search for underlying assumptions. Too seldom is there a probing below the surface of business opinion, seldom is the reader conscious of the historian persistently asking that childlike "why." Bliss's finding and reporting are useful and informative. Some might ask for more.

DOUGLAS COLE  
*Simon Fraser University*

## LATIN AMERICA

MARY W. HELMS. *Middle America: A Culture History of Heartland and Frontiers*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall. 1975. Pp. xiv, 367.

In one compact volume Mary W. Helms has attempted a cultural history of Mexico and Central America, taking the reader through the evolution of pre-Columbian civilizations and colonial societies and putting him down, finally, in the midst of contemporary Latin American nation building. Her emphasis throughout is to outline the history of cultural development and to suggest, more often than one would expect in an outline of such dimensions, the why and how of it. A corollary aim within the work is to bring often-ignored Central American areas into a historical and cultural relationship with Mexico and Guatemala, hence her conceptual organization between "heartland" and "frontiers."

This book should enjoy considerable success, especially if produced in a paperback edition, in college courses dealing with Latin America. It is more readable than most textbooks and conceived and executed with superior intelligence. As an outline, however, it suffers to some extent from the inescapable superficiality that the enormity of the subject imposes. And since the author is dependent upon secondary works and summaries for her information, she falls prey to the limitations of those whom she employs. Nevertheless, this is the first time a serious scholar has tried to make sense of the Middle American archeological, ethnograph-

ical, and historical records from the very beginning to the present in one slender volume. Tradition would suggest this as a task better suited to the end of a career. By that time, of course, the author would have concluded that such a book could not be written. Let us rejoice that Mary Helms did it in her own time and way.

R. C. PADDEN  
Brown University

JOHN TATE LANNING. *Pedro de la Torre: Doctor to Conquerors*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1974. Pp. xiv, 145. \$7.50.

Three documents from the records of the Inquisition of sixteenth-century Mexico tell us almost everything known about Pedro de la Torre. A native of Logroño in Castile, he came to America in 1535 at twenty-eight and moved rapidly from South America to Central America to Mexico, practicing medicine along the way. When challenged he asserted that he had received a medical degree from the University of Padua, but this was almost certainly a false claim. Accused of practicing without a license, he produced spurious records and was jailed, only to be released because his services were needed in the plague of 1545. Later charged with heresy, blasphemy, bigamy, and necromancy, he again escaped with minor punishment. Still later, in 1554, he was indirectly involved in the murder of the Spanish poet Gutierrez de Cetina, who was visiting the colony.

Despite his questionable career as a doctor, de la Torre became Mexico's official *protomédico* in 1568. It is a picaresque career, and because the inquisitorial witnesses were, or were forced to be, so particular in their testimonies, we can know some aspects of his life in an abundance of homely detail. It is surprising and revealing that "an adventurer patently guilty of bigamy, blasphemy, and sorcery," brought before the Inquisition, could escape punishment and avoid further detection. Professor Lanning identifies other implications for social history, such as the primitive state of medicine and the bureaucratic negligence that permitted de la Torre to re-establish himself in his profession after his sentence; and, very interestingly, the dandyism and delinquency of the spoiled sons of conquistadores in the mid-sixteenth century.

CHARLES GIBSON  
University of Michigan,  
Ann Arbor

BARTOLOMÉ DE LAS CASAS. *In Defense of the Indians: The Defense of the Most Reverend Lord, Don Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas, of the Order of Preachers, Late Bishop of Chiapa, Against the Persecutors and Slanderers of the Peoples of the New World Discovered Across the Seas*. Translated, edited, and annotated by STAF-

FORD POOLE, C.M. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1974. Pp. xx, 385. \$25.00.

LEWIS HANKE. *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Intellectual and Religious Capacity of the American Indians*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 1974. Pp. xvi, 205. \$15.00.

*In Defense of the Indians* is the last, and in some respects the most valuable, of Las Casas's writings to be published. Prepared as an answer to the *Democrates Alter* of Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, it was presented at Valladolid in 1550-51 before a committee appointed by Charles V to determine future policy on the treatment of Indians. It was, or should have been, the culmination of a long debate over whether the Indians were fully rational human beings, or, in Aristotle's use of the term, slaves *a natura*. If, as Sepúlveda argued, they were the latter, they could lawfully be subject to the encomienda system and to forcible conversion. If not, as Las Casas had proclaimed, they could not be forced to labor for the Spaniards and could be converted only by the blandishments of sweet reason. As so often happens, the committee failed to reach a conclusion, but the disputation at Valladolid gave Las Casas the opportunity to summarize his arguments in a single Latin treatise. It is this that makes the *Defense* uniquely valuable as a sample of Las Casas's thought, for it contains nearly all of the arguments brought forth during his long career as "apostle to the Indians."

Poole has provided a solid and intelligent translation of this treatise that aptly conveys the fiery tone of Las Casas's style and that will provide English-speaking readers with an excellent sample of his thought. It is accompanied by Professor Lewis Hanke's introductory volume, *All Mankind Is One*, an analysis of the *Defense* that provides an overall view of the controversy of which the treatise was a part. As this is intended as Hanke's last word on the subject, he cannot resist a few parting shots at some of Las Casas's modern detractors, but in general, *All Mankind Is One* contains little that will be unfamiliar to those who have followed both the long debate over the Spanish struggle for justice in America and the related Black Legend.

WILLIAM S. MALTBY  
University of Missouri—  
St. Louis

JEROME S. HANDLER. *The Unappropriated People: Freedmen in the Slave Society of Barbados*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1974. Pp. xii, 225. \$10.00.

Few scholars have concerned themselves with the story of that group in British West Indian slave



society termed by Governor Seaforth of Barbados, in 1802, the "unappropriated people." None has yet offered what Handler does: an extensive study of such nonwhite freedmen that examines their social and legal status and the struggle over their civil rights as well as their roles in the military, economic, religious, and educational life of a colony. He dwells on those years of the nineteenth century that preceded slave emancipation. It was then that the freedmen—hitherto small in number—increased so significantly as to assume an apparent place in Barbadian society. It is the period, too, for which there exist more abundant and revealing source materials, such as estate inventories and wills.

The first half of the book generally presents the basic findings of the essay that Handler contributed to Cohen's and Greene's *Neither Slave nor Free* (1972), but with much additional information in both text and footnotes. One rises from it with a firmer understanding of the climactic Brown Privilege Bill of 1831 that granted the freedmen full legal equality. In the remaining pages come Handler's gleanings on the freed militiamen, followed by a detailed and absorbing account of their economic and cultural activities that encompasses the pursuit of skilled trades, male and female huckstering, shopkeeping, and the ownership of taverns like the celebrated Royal Naval Hotel of Rachel Pringle, whose life and portrait are furnished. Although very few freedmen became plantation owners, many possessed small houses and landholdings, mainly in Bridgetown, and some held as many as five slaves whom they used themselves or hired out. Almost all who were Christians were primarily attracted, as were white Creoles, to the Anglican Church. Owing to the founding of the Colonial Charity School in 1819 for poor nonwhite children, and other possibilities including private tutoring, several acquired literacy. Still, the position of the freedmen in the social order, as a concluding chapter makes crystal clear, remained an inferior one owing to their racial descent. Handler's fine work should stimulate similar studies for other areas of the Americas.

JOSEPH A. BOROMÉ  
New York City

GEORGE F. W. YOUNG. *The Germans in Chile: Immigration and Colonization, 1849-1914*. New York: Center for Migration Studies. 1974. Pp. xi, 234. \$5.95.

While German immigration into Chile during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was very small, it is of special interest to the historian of immigration because of the ability of the Germans to resist assimilation and maintain their cultural identity. This elaborately documented study, based on German as well as Chilean sources, focuses on this situation. After a statistical introduction and a brief résumé of the antecedents to immigration, the author devotes a chapter to the idea of a "German national colony," a colony abroad in which Germans "can preserve our sacred language unadulterated, our nationality unalloyed, and our German mind unaffected by foreign influences" (p. 50). This discussion is followed by three chapters describing the efforts to establish and develop "national colonies" in the southern frontier areas of Valdivia, Llanquihue, Frontera, and Chiloé. The author concludes with a chapter on such urban German immigrant institutions as schools, churches, newspapers, and clubs. The study is useful in presenting a substantial body of descriptive material on the German agrarian colonies in Chile. It shows clearly the importance of dedicated individuals, both German and Chilean, in creating those colonies, and it sketches the kind of cultural and physical environments in which "national colonies" did prosper. Finally, the author hints at a number of important determinants of assimilation: Catholics assimilated more rapidly than Protestants (p. 162), World War I led to the unification of German institutions in Chile (p. 164), lower-class immigrants assimilated faster than middle-class immigrants—except when middle-class Germans married Chileans (p. 166).

Unfortunately, in my opinion, the value of the study is reduced by its lack of analysis. The author uses none of the extensive theoretical literature on assimilation and makes little systematic attempt to analyze the factors that affected assimilation in light of the specific colonies he describes. He does not compare the rural with the urban patterns of Germans in Chile, the German experience with that of other immigrant groups in Chile, or the Germans in Chile with the Germans in other countries. This study contributes to the descriptive literature on German immigration, but it adds little to our understanding of the process of immigration and assimilation.

SAMUEL L. BAILY  
Rutgers University,  
New Brunswick

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## Communications

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*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication of such a communication or of any part of it is solely at the editors' discretion. Limitations of space require that a communication concerning a review be no longer than the review to which it refers and in no case longer than 500 words. Communications concerning articles or review articles may be no more than 1,000 words, and the editors reserve the right to impose a lower limit. The schedule of publication and the time needed to send a communication to the author of the article or review in question for such reply as he may care to make virtually preclude the possibility of publication in the issue following that in which the original article or review appeared. Unless, in the editors' judgment, some major scholarly purpose is served, rejoinders will not be published.*

### TO THE EDITOR:

Professor Appleby's argument concerning rent exploitation in his article on seigneurial reaction in northwest England between 1500 and 1700 (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 574-94) is not supported by the sources he himself cites. There are several points on which one might fault his article, but I will confine myself here to the example of the barony of Gilsland, which constitutes an important part of his case for disproportionately great increases in fines during the seventeenth century.

Appleby does not specifically mention the levels of fines in Gilsland in the early seventeenth century, but there is no doubt that they rose sharply from about two to four penny fines in 1589 to twenty penny fines in 1611 (see survey of the possessions of Leonard Dacre, 1589, p. 74, Public Record Office, London, Exchequer 164/42; book of collected miscellaneous manuscripts, copy of exemplification of a decree in Chancery, June 17, 1613, Howard of Naworth Papers, Department of Palaeography and Diplomatic, University of Durham).

The evidence suggests that this increase was more a belated attempt at adjusting fines to a

realistic level that kept pace with inflation than a ruthless policy of squeezing the customary tenants as severely as possible. The twenty penny fines were said to be roughly equal to one year's current value of tenements in Gilsland. It was an established principle in both the common law courts and Chancery that a reasonable fine must not be greater than about one and a half or two years' current value, so the Gilsland fines were well within the acceptable maxima (see E. Kerridge, *Agrarian Problems in the Sixteenth Century and After* [London, 1969], 39). Lord William Howard, lord of Gilsland, might have been more efficient in collecting money than his tenants would have wished, but this hardly amounts to proof of gross exploitation.

Nor is Appleby justified in implying that fines in Gilsland rose by disproportionately great amounts to some incredible general level such as a ninety-six penny fine by the end of the seventeenth century (p. 592). As he himself notes earlier, by 1700 "most fines [in Gilsland] ranged from twenty to thirty years' rent" (p. 590). The document he cites actually shows that in the manor of Laversdale between 1698 and 1708 three quarters of the tenants were assessed thirty penny fines or less, while one third were fined at exactly the same level as one hundred years earlier (see names of tenants in Askerton and Laversdale manors with dates of admission, 1689-1708, and details of fines, n.d., Howard of Naworth Papers, C173.8). This is not evidence of unreasonable rent exploitation.

Nor are the fines of between thirty-two and ninety-six times the ancient yearly rent assessed on one quarter of the tenants of Laversdale necessarily proof of extortion. New crops such as turnips and potatoes were being introduced into Gilsland at least as early as the 1730s, which implies experiment with new rotations (see case for counsel about Brampton tithes with legal opinion thereon, 1744, Howard of Naworth Papers, C173.55). The possibility cannot be dismissed that the higher fines were assessed on progressive tenants who had

improved their holdings, and that the increased fines simply reflected the current real value of their tenements.

My point is not to disprove Appleby's thesis of rent exploitation. I would, however, urge that judgment be suspended on his conclusion that "stark exploitation of the northwestern tenantry took place . . . in the seventeenth century," until the basic data have been considered more thoroughly. This applies also to Appleby's treatment of the tenant-right disputes in the early seventeenth century.

J. H. HARDWICKE  
*University of Durham*

#### TO THE EDITOR:

My friend John Hardwicke knows the records of the barony of Gilsland as well as any person alive and I would be foolhardy to debate him on what the records say. On what the records mean, however, we may have some legitimate differences of opinion. Therefore, I would like to make the following points.

First, Hardwicke admits that fines were raised from two to four times the old rent in 1589 to twenty times the old rent in 1611. But this increase, he argues, was merely to keep in step with inflation. Presumably he means the inflation that had already taken place in the sixteenth century because the nine-year moving average price of all grains rose only forty per cent between these two dates (see Peter Bowden, "Statistical Appendix," in Joan Thirsk, ed., *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 4: 1500-1640 [Cambridge, 1967], 819-20), while fines were pushed up five hundred to one thousand per cent.

Second, Hardwicke goes on to say that fines in Gilsland "were said to be" one year's current value of the tenements and therefore were reasonable. But he neglects to mention that it was Lord William Howard, and not the tenants, who said this (see Mounsey-Heysham Papers, 6: 4-6, Cumbria Record Office). Perhaps Hardwicke is justified in taking the lord's word at face value; for reasons set forth below, I am more inclined to believe the tenants. The root problem here is that we do not know the actual yield of the tenements or the standard of living of the tenants, and it is impossible to determine what fines would have been fair and reasonable. We have to make a choice and believe one or the other side in a legal dispute.

Third, I have argued that the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland had terrible famines in 1597 and 1623 (see my article, "Disease or Famine? Mortality in Cumberland and Westmorland, 1580-1640," *Economic History Review*, 2d ser., 26

[1973]: 403-32). The registers for the parishes that make up Gilsland are lacking, unfortunately, and we cannot say for sure whether Gilsland suffered to the same extent as the rest of the two counties. The number of tenant holdings that fell vacant in the court of Brampton in 1623, however, suggests that mortality was very heavy in that part of the barony (Howard of Naworth Papers, C178a.6). If the tenants starved to death—and admittedly the evidence is slim—they must have been precariously close to the subsistence level before the harvest failure of 1622 finally pushed them over. The exactions of the lord certainly played a part in their impoverishment. The reader can decide whether this constitutes exploitation.

Finally, Hardwicke argues that higher fines toward the end of the seventeenth century and on into the eighteenth century reflected the real value of the tenants' holdings. He introduces evidence of agricultural improvement in the 1730s, a full generation after the end of my study, and paints a rosier picture of tenant-lord relations than I did. But William Hutchinson, writing in 1794, saw it rather differently. Referring specifically to Gilsland, he described the tenure as "almost as base a tenure as the ancient villianage. . . . Those customary tenures are a national grievance. From this tenure is chiefly to be attributed the vast and dreary wastes which are found in Cumberland" (see *History of the County of Cumberland* [Carlisle, 1794], 1: 133).

ANDREW B. APPLEBY  
*San Diego State University*

#### TO THE EDITOR:

Reading Thomas R. H. Havens's "Women and War in Japan, 1937-45" (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 913-34), I was amazed to be told that "when the war crisis deepened, a single Greater Japan Women's Association (Dai Nihon Fujinkai) was proclaimed on February 2, 1942, reflecting the energetic attempts of the prime minister, Konoe Fumimaro, to streamline governmental administration" (p. 915). The Konoe cabinet fell October 16, 1941. Prince Konoe was succeeded by General Tōjō Hideki, an officer on the active list. One may doubt that Prince Konoe had any influence on General Tōjō's policies some five months after he had left office.

RILEY SUNDERLAND  
*Bar Harbor, Maine*

#### TO THE EDITOR:

In response to Riley Sunderland's letter: the sentence on page 915 is ambiguous, but the facts and their interpretation are not. As is noted elsewhere in the article (pp. 919-20), Tōjō Hideki was indeed

prime minister in February 1942. The creation of the Greater Japan Women's Association was a bureaucratic decision fully consonant with Kono Fumimaro's Imperial Rule Assistance Association, created during his prime ministership on September 27, 1940, and not a policy initiative taken by the Tōjō cabinet—by now quite preoccupied with fighting the United States.

THOMAS R. H. HAVENS  
*Connecticut College*

TO THE EDITOR:

Since Professor Bronfenbrenner specifically invites my reaction in his review of Kozo Yamamura's *A Study of Samurai Income and Entrepreneurship* (*AHR*, 80 [1975]: 1030–31), allow me to comment in the hope that the issues do not become further obscured. Unfortunately, there seems to be some misconception about this "orthodox" authority's view of entrepreneurial behavior and motivation. In my *Capitalism and Nationalism in Prewar Japan* (1967), I repeatedly disavowed any attempt to equate what Japanese businessmen, or their sycophants, claimed about their motives with the real thing. To be sure, at one point I did hazard parenthetically the prophecy that "future studies may well reveal further evidence that the motives Japanese businessmen claimed as their own may reflect more of reality than their critics supposed" (pp. 117–18); but I also pointed out that this was largely irrelevant to my own research. While I am not yet entirely convinced that my prophecy has been proven false by Professor Yamamura, I do remain certain that he and I have been analyzing two distinct phenomena and therefore cannot logically be seen as contradicting one another.

First, I do not wish to quarrel with the proposition that Japanese businessmen often "acted like robber barons and/or profit-maximizers" (p. 1030). What I find of equal interest is their explicit

rejection of the ideologies of economic individualism and Social Darwinism, so often embraced by their Western counterparts—indeed, their refusal to admit publicly to a profit motive at all. Second, regardless of whether a "disproportionate percentage of them" were actually nonsamurai, it remains clear that the spokesmen for the Japanese business elite insisted upon wrapping the entrepreneur in the cloak of the patriotic samurai hero in an attempt to justify their behavior. I continue to believe that these phenomena had historical significance for the periods I discussed.

BYRON K. MARSHALL  
*University of Minnesota,  
Twin Cities*

TO THE EDITOR:

I think I am a reasonable person when it comes to the "woman question." I am Mrs. at least until I can be doctor or professor; I get on reasonably well with my husband and my male colleagues; I intend to be a chairwoman if I am ever called to chair anything. There are, however, times. . . . You are the—probably innocent—cause of the latest attack of "Oh, what's the use?"

There I was, evading writing my dissertation by reading the reviews in your latest issue, October 1975, humming happily because reading reviews is a professional duty; is it not? Then I came to Robert L. Church's review of Brooks Mather Kelley's history of Yale (pp. 1040–41). There was some poor woman, deprived even of a name, identified only as the personal possession of not one but two men (wife of Walter Camp, sister of William Graham Sumner—why discriminate against her father?). And she was doing all the work. Arrggh!

In the name of all the faceless women of history, in the name of International Women's Year, identify the woman by her name. Please?

MARILYNN M. LAREW  
*University of Maryland*

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## Recent Deaths

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JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER III, president emeritus of Williams College and former professor of American diplomatic history at Harvard, died in Williamstown, Massachusetts, on June 17, 1975, at the age of eighty-two. In effect he had three careers, any one of which would have been a remarkable achievement. Throughout his adult life he remained a dedicated teacher and scholar of history. Born in Portland, Maine, on February 15, 1893, he received his A.B. in 1914 from Williams, where he garnered virtually all the academic honors the college could bestow. After contracting tuberculosis, Baxter went to Colorado to recuperate, taught for a year at Colorado College, and then returned east to do graduate work in history at Harvard. He wrote his dissertation under the direction of Edward Channing and received his Ph.D. in 1926. He was a member of the history department at Harvard from 1925 to 1937 and became a full professor in 1936.

During his first career—twelve years of teaching at Harvard—Baxter wrote *The Introduction of the Ironclad Warship* (1933), which remains the authoritative work on its subject. He also published in the *AHR* and the *American Journal of International Law* important articles on relations between Britain and the United States during the Civil War. He used multiarchival research to reveal how the British Foreign Office adopted farsighted, realistic diplomacy in controversies with the North over prize cases and interpretations of international law. These articles were early expressions of Baxter's lifelong scholarly interest in Anglo-American relations.

Well known at Harvard as a popular and effective undergraduate lecturer, he became in 1931 the first master of Adams House, where he sought to create, in his own words, "something like a small college within the larger university." He was well on his way to achieving scholarly eminence when he accepted the presidency of Williams. As president, from 1937 to 1961, Baxter had a significant impact on the college—in both his concern with creating and holding a talented faculty and his

supervision of the inevitable expansion of campus buildings and curricular changes that occurred over that long stretch of time. His background as historian affected his long tenure as college administrator—his second career.

As a student of the past, Baxter understood the necessity of providing a firm groundwork for change. Since his predecessor had resigned in a dispute with the trustees, Baxter moved cautiously at first, giving himself time to learn his job and the college a respite from previous tensions. He could let his respect for the past turn to strong sentiment on certain subjects—fraternities, for example, and compulsory chapel, both of which Williams continued in a modified way throughout Baxter's presidency.

He was sound on basic educational issues and understood thoroughly the special historical role of a college like Williams. Acting vigorously to keep the college intellectually attractive to able faculty and students, Baxter held firm to the distinction between university and small college, between the basic research orientation of the first and the teaching emphasis of the second. He continued to teach part time, usually in a course supervised by others. His lectures, usually delivered without notes, revealed a powerful mind and an impressive mastery of the rich complexity of historical details. During the McCarthy period of the 1950s, Baxter, who was an ardent Republican of the internationalist wing, never wavered in his support of teachers, and Williams had a few who came under the critical fire of either irresponsible politicians or worried alumni. Baxter partly initiated and partly modified both curricular and social changes, but he always effectively controlled them, and with a minimum of administrative apparatus. He relied upon experienced faculty for advice, but there was no doubt about who was in charge during his administration.

During World War II he took a series of leaves from Williams that launched his third career—that of public servant. Baxter served as director of the Research Branch of the Office of Coordinator



of Information, 1941-42; as deputy director of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 1942-43, where he recruited academic personnel for the OSS staff; and then from 1943 to 1946 as first historian of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. Turning his attention to scientific and technical matters about which he had little prior knowledge, Baxter learned so rapidly and so well that he was able to write an impressive account for the general public of the many exciting and significant discoveries made by American scientists working for the government during the war. Published under the title *Scientists against Time* (1946), the book won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 1947. In the postwar period Baxter was an important adviser on various federal historical projects. He served on the army's Historical Advisory Committee from 1943 to 1955. The distinguished multivolume series, which resulted, is a tribute to his vision and that of his colleagues. He was instrumental in bringing into being the historical program of the Atomic Energy Commission, serving as chairman of its Advisory Committee from 1958 to 1967. Finally, he was a member of the secretary of the navy's Advisory Committee on Naval History from 1952 to 1964.

His other roles as public servant were closely connected with the Republican administrations of Dwight Eisenhower, whose presidential candidacy Baxter supported early and vigorously, and with the Council on Foreign Relations. He was a member during the 1950s of the noted Gaither Committee, whose task was to examine U.S. military capacity vis-à-vis the Soviet Union and make recommendations to the White House. Though the report of the committee was never released, it is clear that Baxter had become convinced early on of the need for a more flexible, and credible, military response to potential adversaries and was advocating a build-up of United States conventional forces. In 1961 he became the first senior fellow of the Council on Foreign Relations, with which he long had been associated. As an active participant in government and on advisory groups dealing with foreign policy issues, Baxter saw no conflict with his profession as historian and college president. He believed strongly that it was both a patriotic duty and a worthy service to bring the special perspective and knowledge of historians to bear upon the efforts of the country to resolve its military and diplomatic problems.

Baxter was not a man of even disposition. He had an explosive temper but could also be contrite and apologetic. At times he showed an exasperating self-centeredness that seemed to make him oblivious to other points of view, but he was often warmly sympathetic to the personal and professional problems of others. Possessed of a first-class intellect, he was a man of action with a

lifelong respect for men of thought. The faculty of Williams recognized and responded to the quality of his mind, and he never failed to support them as the center of what was most important in the college.

RUSSELL H. BOSTERT  
Williams College

JOHN H. COX, professor emeritus at City College, City University of New York, died suddenly on September 7, 1975, at the age of sixty-eight, while at his summer home in Bethel, Connecticut. He had lived and taught in New York City since 1941, when he was appointed to an instructorship in the history department at City College. Except for the three and one-half years of military service, 1943-46, as an officer in the Army Air Corps, he taught continuously in the department, rising through all the ranks to become a full professor in 1964 and, in 1965, a member of the doctoral faculty of the City University of New York. He retired in September 1972.

Cox was born in Coburg, Oregon, on February 8, 1907, and educated in the schools of the Far West. His early years, and many of the values that were to guide him for a lifetime, were shaped by qualities that were fast disappearing from the American scene, but which were still to be found in the small towns and open forests of the Pacific Northwest. After earning his first two degrees at the University of Oregon, he attended the University of California, Berkeley, where his advanced studies were pursued under Frederick L. Paxson and Herbert E. Bolton. His doctoral dissertation, "Organizations in the Lumber Industry in the Pacific Northwest" (1937), was suggested by Paxson as appropriate to Cox's first-hand knowledge of the woodlands and sawmills of the region in which he had grown up and worked.

Although Cox's apprenticeship as a teacher and a historian were spent in the universities where he had been trained and then for a year in Missouri at the Northeastern State Teachers College in Kirksville, his life's work was centered in an academic and urban community far different from his earlier experiences, New York's huge City College. Here for almost three decades he was one of the most popular teachers in a large department that was already prominent for its influence on the training of future historians. His advanced courses were generally crowded and frequently oversubscribed; and his genial manner, modesty, and affectionate interest in his students, whose ability and stimulus he considered unequalled, bound them to him and to the department.

After the war Cox's scholarly interests turned to the period of Reconstruction, and in a unique personal and intellectual partnership with his wife,

LaWanda Cox (now professor emeritus at Hunter College), he spent many years of research on the history of post-Civil War national politics and the freedmen of the South. Their collaborative publications—the most notable of which, *Politics, Principle and Prejudice, 1865–1866: The Dilemma of Reconstruction America* (1963), won the AHA's John H. Dunning Prize—placed them among a small number of leading scholars whose critical findings and new assessments were developing a fuller understanding of the tangled politics of the early Reconstruction years and a recognition of the importance of the civil rights issues in the 1860s.

For some time before and after his retirement, Cox suffered from a painful illness that tested his stamina, courage, and cheerfulness. These qualities never yielded, and he persisted in continuing with his work and other interests. He was a gentleman in the fullest sense of that term, a good colleague, and a worthy member of the historical profession.

OSCAR ZEICHNER  
City College,  
City University of New York

LOUISE M. DOUGLAS, advertising manager of the *American Historical Review* from 1968 to 1974, died of a heart attack at her home in Washington on October 29, 1975. She was born in Wauseon, Ohio, and, after attending Miami University, had a varied and colorful career in merchandising and business. In 1968, after ten years on the staff of the Macmillan Company, she was assigned responsibility for the *AHR*. Although her title was advertising manager, she also reorganized and systematized the subscription list and looked after contracts, copyright, and other aspects of the journal's business that were carried out in the publisher's office in New York. What had been a casual and (through the illness of her predecessor) neglected affair was rapidly whipped into shape. When the AHA took over publication of the journal in 1969, the ease with which the business side of the transition was carried through was owing in large part to the hard work she had done in getting its records in order, to her skill in negotiation, and to her willingness to move to Washington to join the staff of the *AHR*.

In Washington she was unusually successful in bringing in advertising—no small task, particularly after the publishing recession that set in in 1972 and during which *AHR* advertising fell very little—in promoting the *AHR* and the pamphlet series, in negotiating contracts for subsidiary rights that markedly increased revenue from royalties, and in increasing membership of the AHA. Her long experience and her wide and carefully

maintained contacts in the advertising world were invaluable.

Louise Douglas was funny and often salty in conversation, skeptical and disenchanted if not cynical in approach, and tough in manner—though the style concealed a soft heart that could befriend many, often surprising people. She was, above all, a consummate businesswoman who gained the respect and friendship of most of those she had to deal with—among advertisers, publishers, printers, and not a few historians, whose ways were at times more than a little mystifying to her. One publisher told me, shortly before she died, that after many years of dealing with officials of many learned societies, he felt that Louise Douglas was the most professional of the lot. It was the tribute she would most have appreciated.

A journal of the complexity, reach, and quality of the *AHR* owes much to staff members who are usually overlooked or misunderstood, and much of the possibility that was realized in the *AHR* in the past seven years was due to Mrs. Douglas's imagination, hard-headed acumen, and sage, irreverent counsel.

R. K. WEBB  
University of Maryland,  
Baltimore County

FRANCIS DVORNIK, a leading historian of the medieval church, died on November 4, 1975, in his eighty-third year, at his family home in Chomýž, Moravia (Czechoslovakia), where his education had begun at the local classical gymnasium. He brought his long and distinguished career to a close as professor of Byzantine history at Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard's Center for Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C. He retired from this post in 1964 but continued to work with vigor until a few months before his death.

He had been professor of church history at the Charles University, Prague, from 1928, and dean of the faculty of theology from 1935. The first Czech national to receive the coveted diploma of the *École des Sciences Politiques* in Paris in 1923, he trained under the great Byzantinist Charles Diehl and was awarded the Doctor in Letters from the Sorbonne in 1926. He devoted his prodigious scholarship (some 30 books and more than 130 articles) chiefly to two themes, the integration of Slavic history into general European history, and the historical roots of those problems which divided and still divide the Byzantine Orthodox from the Roman Catholic Church.

His first book, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, was awarded a prize by the French Academy in 1927 and reprinted in 1970. His famous book, *The Photian Schism* (1948), written largely in the British Museum, put the whole issue of the divi-

sion between Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism on a new basis; it, too, was awarded a prize by the French Academy. In the next decades Dvornik pursued the issue of episcopal primacy in *Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, awarded the Haskins Medal by the Medieval Academy of America in 1959, and in *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, awarded the Francis Cardinal Spellman Prize by the Catholic Theological Society of America in 1966. Other major works are *Les légendes de Constantin et de Methode vues de Byzance* (1933; rpt. 1969), *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe* (1949), *The Slavs in European History and Civilization* (1962), and *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy* (1966). A number of his books that were first published in English have appeared in French, German, Italian, and Spanish translations.

Dvornik had been elected a Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy and of the Royal Belgium Academy. He had also been named a Knight of the French Legion of Honor.

A long-time colleague and friend, Sirarpie Der Nersessian, has written the following tribute to Father Dvornik: "From the very beginning his unbiased attitude in intellectual matters as well as in personal relations, his loyalty, his kindliness, and his genial personality won the esteem and affection of his colleagues and of the younger Fellows, as well as of the members of the Staff. His broad outlook, his judgment and wise counsels were of invaluable assistance to Dumbarton Oaks on many an occasion, and of major importance was his role in the development of its Library, the vital center of a research institute, to which he selflessly devoted many precious hours perusing catalogues of old books while, at the same time, keeping abreast of new publications. He was unfailingly ready to help and advise young historians, especially those interested in Slavic studies."

WILLIAM C. LOERKE  
Center for Byzantine Studies,  
Dumbarton Oaks

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK, president of the American Historical Association in 1953, died in Chicago on June 23, 1975. Born in Brooklyn in 1899, he received both his bachelor's and doctorate degrees at Cornell University, where along with his friend and contemporary, the late Leo Gershoy, he was introduced to European history and in particular to the study of the French Revolution by Carl Becker. His first teaching years were spent at the universities of Illinois and of Louisville, but in 1927 he became associate professor at the University of Chicago, where he was department chairman from

1937 to 1942, and thereafter became Gustavus F. and Ann Swift Distinguished Service Professor. After his retirement in 1964 he taught full time for several years, and then part time, at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle.

Gottschalk's talents revealed themselves early, and he remained prominent as a historian of the French Revolution for half a century. He was only twenty-two on receiving his Ph.D. In 1927 he published his *Jean-Paul Marat*, the first biography of an extremist of the French Revolution by an American historian. It was also one of the first American books, at least among those arising in university circles, in which the attempt was made to explain rather than to deplore the most radical phase of the French Revolution. The *Marat* was soon translated into French, and it was reprinted in America in 1966. In 1929 came his *Era of the French Revolution*, the first of the modern American college textbooks on the subject. About this time, Gottschalk decided to undertake a multivolume biography of the marquis de Lafayette. The first fruit of this enterprise, his *Lafayette Comes to America*, was published in 1935. Here the thought was developed, correcting a common misapprehension, that it was not a love of liberty that inspired Lafayette to go and seek a commission in the American army, but rather a youthful and martial ardor, with a desire for revenge against England; and that it was the American experience that aroused in him the love of liberty, and the admiration for George Washington, that he was to carry on into the French Revolution. Gottschalk thus showed the interest in the relationship between America and Europe, and in the impact of the American Revolution on the French, that he continued to feel throughout his life. It was in fact by Gottschalk, in 1931, that I was launched on my own work on similar transatlantic themes.

Books on Lafayette continued to appear at almost biennial intervals until 1950, and were resumed toward the end of the author's life, until nine had been published, with a tenth nearly finished and awaiting publication. With this final volume, which is to reach until Lafayette's repudiation of "Jacobinism" in July 1792, only the thirty-fifth year of Lafayette's life had been attained, with forty-two more years still to go. The great project as conceived about 1930 had proved impossible to realize in full; there had been trouble in gaining access to certain Lafayette documents, and in any case the plan of treatment, involving an almost day-to-day account and an exhaustion of the sources, resulted in a slower tempo and greater multiplication of volumes than had been foreseen.

The interruption in the Lafayette series was due in part to the growth of other interests during and after World War II. Though committed in the

Lafayette project to a narrative and almost annalistic approach, Gottschalk now became concerned with broader and more theoretical issues. He was active in the work of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and was a member of its committee on historiography, which, through Charles Beard and others, published the well-known Bulletin 54 on historical causation in 1945. Other SSRC committees produced two collaborative works that Gottschalk edited, *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology* (1945) and *Generalization in the Writing of History* (1963). His *Understanding History* (1950) was a handbook of method, which his old master, Carl Becker, as an exponent of historical relativism, might have found surprisingly conservative in its technical doctrine. Gottschalk contributed much to the development of the *Journal of Modern History* in its early days, serving as associate editor from 1929 to 1943 and acting editor from 1943 to 1945, and being in fact mainly responsible during much of the editorship of Bernadotte Schmitt.

The war left him with a keen sense of the need for a firmer basis of international agreement. His interest in Europe's world role was evident in his textbook for modern history, first published in 1951, written in collaboration with Donald Lach, whose own interests lay in European relations with Asia. Gottschalk at the same time was attracted by the UNESCO project for a new universal history, intended to overcome the Europe-centered conception of human development and to present a world view that persons of all nations, religions, and races might equally accept. He undertook, therefore, the author-editorship of the fourth volume of the UNESCO history, which appeared in 1969, under the English title of *Foundations of the Modern World, 1300-1775*. This work required the author-editor to consult with advisers of many nationalities and ideologies, whose conflicting ideas of the relative importance of things proved impossible to unify or harmonize, so that it is doubtful whether he was entirely satisfied with the result. The entire UNESCO history also appeared in French, and the greater magnificence of the French edition suggests that it may be more widely known to the French-reading than to the English-reading public. He taught at the University of Frankfurt in 1949, and in Japan in 1968.

For many years Gottschalk at Chicago and Crane Brinton at Harvard were recognized as the leading American historians of the French Revolution. Gottschalk knew Albert Mathiez personally in the 1920s, and from 1934 until his death he was on the council of the Société des études robespierristes, the somewhat obsolete name of the international society of experts on the French Revolution. As the years passed, Gottschalk came to see

more weight in the views of Aulard and Lefebvre and to adopt a multischools approach in the historiography of the French Revolution. He was also well acquainted with Daniel Mornet, whose work on the Enlightenment greatly influenced him, and was a member of the Société l'histoire moderne. His whole career was a link between the worlds of historians in Europe and in the United States.

He was perhaps the youngest person, at least since many years ago, to be elected to the presidency of the American Historical Association. He received many other honors, becoming a chevalier of the Legion of Honor and receiving honorary degrees from the University of Toulouse, Hebrew Union College, and Augustana College at Rockford, Illinois. He was president of the interdisciplinary American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies in 1971. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Vice-president for some years of the American Council of Learned Societies, he was also a recipient of its special prize of \$10,000 for achievement in the humanities in 1959. He had entered the academic world at a time when it was rare and difficult for Jews to do so and was in all probability the first Jewish president of the American Historical Association. From time to time he participated actively in the work of the Hillel Foundation.

In his later years there was much that he could look back upon with satisfaction. Throughout his life he felt a warm attachment to Cornell University and to the memory of Carl Becker. It was especially gratifying to Gottschalk that means were eventually found to carry on his work by the editing of the papers of the marquis de Lafayette, and that this enterprise should be located at Cornell. His work and his personal qualities aroused the admiration of his coworkers and the devotion and gratitude of his students, a dozen of whom presented him with a volume of essays in his honor at the time of his retirement. His writings showed an unusual combination of opposite virtues, from the precision and exact attention to documentary sources in the Lafayette series, to the philosophical interest that produced the social science reports and the fourth volume of the UNESCO *History of the Scientific and Cultural Development of Mankind*. For his students, their association with him was an experience to be long cherished, and his influence was for many of them a decisive turning point in their own lives.

R. R. PALMER  
Yale University

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN died suddenly of a heart attack in Washington, D.C., on May 22, 1975. He was seventy-four years old. Born in Mu-



nich, Germany, he studied with Erich Marcks and Alexander von Mueller at the University of Munich, attended the lectures of Max Weber at Heidelberg, and wrote his dissertation under Herman Oncken on German-Polish relations before 1848. Like many historians of the time Hallgarten became interested in the origins of World War I, concentrating on the sociological and economic aspects of imperialism before 1914. William L. Langer called Hallgarten's book, *Vorkriegsimperialismus* (1935), "a contribution to recent German history of absolutely first rate importance which no student of either domestic or international history can afford to ignore, . . . an original and scholarly contribution of the highest order" (*AHR*, 46 [1940]: 142-43). Later editions of this work were entitled *Imperialismus vor 1914*; a second revised and enlarged edition appeared in 1963.

Arriving in the United States in 1937, Hallgarten first lectured at Brooklyn College and later became a research assistant at the University of California, Berkeley. He entered the army in 1942, trained at Camp Ritchie, and served with the Third Mobile Radio Broadcast Company in Europe. After the war he lectured and taught in the United States, Europe, and the Far East. Equally fluent in English, German, and French, Hallgarten wrote extensively on dictatorships and the arms race. Among his better-known books are *Hitler, Reichswehr und Industrie* (1955), *Why Dictators* (1954), *Das Schicksal des Imperialismus im 20. Jahrhundert* (1969), his autobiography *Als die Schatten fielen* (1969), and his last book, with Joachim Radkau, *Deutsche Industrie und Politik: Von Bismarck bis heute* (1974).

He was involved in many causes and projects; the one he was proudest of and for which he received little recognition was the AHA's War Documents Committee, which microfilmed millions of captured German documents after the war.

George Hallgarten was not a simple man. Warm and generous toward friends and colleagues, he could be exasperatingly difficult and stubborn when fighting for a cause. His students loved him for his stimulating lectures, his sincerity, and his breadth of knowledge. They and his many friends around the world will miss him sorely.

GEORGE O. KENT  
University of Maryland,  
College Park

EDWARD CHASE KIRKLAND was hardly a parochial man. He dealt boldly with spacious themes in his scholarship and in his teaching, and he maintained close friendships with professional colleagues throughout the United States and beyond. Yet his intimate association with New England, where he studied and taught, and especially with

his native Vermont sustained him and suggested some of the major fields of his scholarly investigation. Above all, that association gave a special flavor to his writing, his irrepressible wit, and his sturdy character. Born in Bellows Falls on May 24, 1894, "Kirk" died on his eighty-first birthday and was buried near his lovely home in Thetford Center, where many a member of the American Historical Association had enjoyed his generous hospitality through the years.

After graduation from Dartmouth in 1916, Kirkland volunteered for duty in the Ambulance Service, and for his devotion to the Allied cause in the First World War, he received the *croix de guerre*. Returning to the United States, he took his Ph.D. at Harvard. He taught at Brown before being called in 1930 to Bowdoin College, where he taught for twenty-five years as Frank Munsey Professor of History.

Kirkland's graduate study under Edward Channing led to his first book, *The Peacemakers of 1864* (1927). It was not in Civil War history, however, but in nineteenth-century American economic history that he found the material of greatest concern to him as a teacher and scholar. His *History of American Economic Life* (1932) was widely used and went through several revised editions. His other works include *Men, Cities, and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820-1900* (1948); *Dream and Thought in the Business Community, 1860-1900* (1956); *Industry Comes of Age: Business, Labor, and Public Policy 1860-1897* (1961), which is a volume in the Economic History of the United States series; and *Charles Francis Adams, Jr., 1835-1915: The Patrician at Bay* (1965).

Kirkland gave freely of his time and energy to the life of the professional associations. Writing in 1944 as chairman of Committee A, on Academic Freedom and Tenure, he warned the American Association of University Professors, all too accurately, of the danger of an attack upon academic freedom. He served as national president of the AAUP from 1946 to 1948. In 1955 Kirkland was elected to the presidency of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. He was an active member of the Phi Beta Kappa Senate for two decades, and he served as a member of the editorial board of the *New England Quarterly*. He received honorary degrees from Dartmouth, Princeton, and Bowdoin. At various times during the 1950s he was designated Knapp Professor at Wisconsin; Commonwealth Lecturer at University College London; Messenger Lecturer at Cornell; and Pitt Professor at Cambridge, 1956-57.

Remembering "Kirk" with affection and continuing to regard his work with admiration, the association's members extend their sympathy to his widow, Ruth Babson Kirkland, who shared the



duties of his intense and productive scholarly life, and to Edward S. Kirkland of New York, their son.

WILLIAM B. WHITESIDE  
*Bowdoin College*

The death on September 2, 1975, of SIR JOHN ERNEST NEALE brought to a close one of the most distinguished careers in British historical studies in this century. For more than a generation Neale stood out as the commanding figure in Tudor studies, not only because of his own writing but also because of the force of his personality and talents.

Neale was born in 1890 in Liverpool and educated in the schools there and at the University of Liverpool. He went on to study at University College London under Professor A. F. Pollard, who was then the great master of sixteenth-century studies. In 1919 Neale became an assistant in history at University College and in 1925 professor of modern history at Manchester. He returned to London in 1927 as Astor Professor of History, a post that he held until his retirement in 1956. In 1932 he married a fellow student, Elfreda Skelton, and in 1954 he was knighted.

During the 1920s Neale published a number of important articles, notable not only for their rigorous scholarship but also for their very graceful style. In 1934 he brought out his biography of Queen Elizabeth I. Professionals were somewhat staggered by a book that eschewed the usual apparatus of footnotes and references, but *Queen Elizabeth* was an immense success with both professional and lay readers. The larger reading audience responded to the brilliant style of the book while scholars in the field had no doubt that it rested on a firm command of all relevant sources. The biography combined a subtle understanding of the queen's complex personality with a penetrating assessment of her public role. It remains the authoritative study of her life.

After the war Neale began the publication of his great study of the Elizabethan Parliament, *The Elizabethan House of Commons* (1949), and the two volumes of *Elizabeth I and Her Parliaments* (1953, 1957). These three volumes transformed our understanding not only of the late Tudor Parliaments but of the whole parliamentary institution. Neale's industry had uncovered far more sources than many scholars had assumed existed, while his historical understanding and his skill as a writer illuminated the subject brilliantly. Much of what had been written about the Stuart Parliaments needs to be rethought in the light of Neale's work, and in some measure Stuart studies of Parliament have yet to catch up with what he accomplished for the earlier era.

After his retirement Neale devoted himself to

general supervision of the late sixteenth-century section of the history of Parliament biographies. In 1958 he visited America for the first time and saw on their home ground many of the American friends he had made in London. He will be especially missed on this side of the Atlantic; for decades Neale welcomed American students and scholars, gave unstintingly of his time and great knowledge, and he and Lady Neale were generous in their warm hospitality to overseas visitors.

Sir John Neale reshaped our historical understanding of one of the great epochs in English history; we see it in a different and clearer light thanks to his lifetime's labors.

WALLACE T. MACCAFFREY  
*Harvard University*

ERNEST WILLIAM NELSON, professor of history at Duke University from 1926 until his retirement in 1965, died at his son's home in Sudbury, Massachusetts, on September 20, 1974. Born in Brockton, Massachusetts, on February 5, 1896, he received his A.B. degree from Clark University in 1916 and his Ph.D. from Cornell in 1925. Prior to coming to Duke, he had taught for two years at the University of South Dakota.

Nelson's special interests were in the Italian Renaissance, and he was the author of a classic article, "The Origins of Modern Balance-of-Power Politics," which was published in *Medievalia et Humanistica* in 1943. Two generations of students were fascinated by Nelson's approach to the teaching of history, which was cultural history in the broadest, deepest sense. For many years he taught historiography, the only course at Duke required of all candidates for the Ph.D.

He took the lead in founding the Durham Chamber Arts Society in 1945 and served as president of the organization for more than twenty years. He is survived by a daughter, Elizabeth Burr Abetti; three sons, Duncan M. Nelson, William Evan Nelson, and George Anthony Nelson; ten grandchildren and one great-grandchild.

ROBERT DRUDEN  
*Duke University*

The death of SAMUEL M. OSGOOD on August 6, 1975, came as a surprise and a shock to his many friends, both within and outside the academic world. Osgood's early years were spent in France, giving him an uncommon understanding of many elements of French civilization that was clearly evident in his many writings. His formal education included a Ph.D. from Clark University, where he was a student of Dwight E. Lee. His professional career was indeed varied and included positions at Worcester Polytechnic Institute; Brown University; Drexel Institute of Technology; the State

University of New York, College at Geneseo, where he was chairman of the history department; and, since 1968, Kent State University, where he was a professor of modern European history. Osgood published a large number of articles on many subjects in learned journals in both the United States and France. His works on French royalism in the modern period, most notably his *French Royalism since 1870* (1970), are outstanding. He enjoyed numerous contacts with scholars in France and served as a Fulbright Lecturer to France from 1964 to 1966 and a visiting professor at the University of Lyons from 1974 to 1975. His dedication to teaching and scholarship was complete, and he will be missed sorely by his many friends and associates.

WILLIAM F. CHURCH  
*Brown University*

SIDNEY POMERANTZ of City College, City University of New York died in June 1975 at the age of sixty-five. He will be remembered for his scholarship and for his devotion to his students, not only as a collectivity to be taught, but as individuals to be nurtured and encouraged.

Pomerantz's reputation as a scholar will remain with us. In addition to many articles and reviews, his book, *New York, An American City, 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life* (1938), remains as the classic work on the subject. He had been at work on a number of research projects, but illness slowed his progress. His major concern in recent years was the history of New York City at the end of the nineteenth century, and he had completed the re-

search for a book that would have examined that subject. Unfortunately this work will now remain incomplete.

At City College Pomerantz developed two courses that received attention beyond the institution. While teaching at the Baruch School of City College, he introduced a course on the history of American business enterprise that was a pioneer effort. He also taught a unique course on the history of the city and state of New York. As a major participant in the development of a New York area studies research project, and a concomitant teaching program, Pomerantz made a significant contribution to the study of the city he knew so well.

Pomerantz was always a careful scholar, but never a destructive one. He was always ready to suggest how the work of others might be improved rather than to score points for himself by tearing down the serious efforts of fellow historians. As a teacher, these qualities of support and regard for others were equally apparent. Pomerantz was a popular teacher, but beyond that he was dedicated to the professional growth of his students. He was instrumental in furthering the career of many deserving students, who needed guidance and support at a crucial point in their lives. This gentle man had a profound and wide-ranging effect upon his students as human beings as well as intellectuals. In this aspect of his career, as in all aspects of his life, Sidney Pomerantz was truly a positive man.

IRWIN YELLOWITZ  
*City College,  
City University of New York*

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## Festschriften and Miscellanies

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed. Other *Festschriften* and similar volumes that are amenable to reviewing will be found in the review section.

BRANNAN, P. T., S.J., editor. *Classica et Iberica: A Festschrift in Honor of the Reverend Joseph M.-F. Marique, S.J.* Worcester, Mass.: Institute for Early Christian Iberian Studies, College of the Holy Cross. 1975. Pp. viii, 429.

VINCENT A. LAPOMARDA, S.J., Joseph Marie-Felix Marique: Jesuit Pioneer in the Christian Perpetuation of the Classics. ANTHONY J. PODLECKI, Solon's Sojourns. WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, Santo Domingo de Silos: Recollections of a Center of Benedictine Learning, 1927-1936. MARY R. LEFKOWITZ, Pindar's Lives. CHRISTINE MOHRMANN, General Trends in the Study of New Testament Greek and of Early Christian Greek and Latin. HERBERT MUSURILLO, S.J., A Festival on Messalla's Estate: Tibullus II. 1 Reconsidered. JOSEPH SZÖVÉRFY, A Conscious Artist in Medieval Hymnody: Introduction to Peter Abelard's Hymns. BAUDOUIN DE GAIFFIER, S.J., Les Bollandistes et les légendes hagiographiques. A. E. RAUBITSCHKE, *Nómos* and *Éthos*. CLAUDIO SANCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Sobre el acta de consagración de la Iglesia de Compostela en 899. RAIMUND DAUT, Zu Properz 3, 21. P. T. BRANNAN, S.J., Repetition in Lyric Poetry. HILDA GRASSOTTI, La Junta de Sahagún: Una entrevista histórica. HERBERT H. HUXLEY, Charles Stuart Calverley and the *De Die Judicii*. MANUEL C. DÍAZ Y DÍAZ, La Cosmografía de Julio Honorio en la Península. J. N. HILLGARTH, The *Prognosticum Futuri Saeculi* of St. Julian of Toledo and the *Tractatus* Published by Mai. DANIEL E. WOODS, The Temple of Augustus—Tarragona. JACQUES FONTAINE, L'Affaire Priscillien ou l'ère des nouveaux Catilina: Observations sur le "Sallustianisme" de Sulpice Sévère. FRAY JUSTO PÉREZ Y URBEL, O.S.B., Florencio, el miniaturista famoso del monasterio de Valeránica. JOHN CARDINAL WRIGHT, Saint Paulinus of Nola.

COSER, LEWIS A., editor. *The Idea of Social Structure: Papers in Honor of Robert K. Merton*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 1975. Pp. ix, 547. \$12.95.

LEWIS A. COSER and ROBERT NISBET, Merton and the Contemporary Mind: An Affectionate Dialogue. ARTHUR L. STINCHCOMBE, Merton's Theory of Social Structure. PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, Working with Merton. TALCOTT PARSONS, The Present Status of "Structural-Functional" Theory in Sociology. LEWIS A. COSER, Merton's Uses of the European Sociological Tradition.

On the Shoulders of Merton: BERNARD BARBER, Toward a New View of the Sociology of Knowledge. PETER M. BLAU, Structural Constraints of Status Complements. JONATHAN R. COLE and HARRIET ZUCKERMAN, The Emergence of a Scientific Specialty: The Self-Exemplifying Case of the Sociology of Science. STEPHEN COLE, The Growth of Scientific Knowledge: Theories of Deviance as a Case Study. JAMES S. COLEMAN, Legitimate and Illegitimate Use of Power. ROSE LAUB COSER, The Complexity of Roles as a Seedbed of Individual Autonomy. HERBERT H. HYMAN, Reference Individuals and Reference Idols. SUZANNE KELLER, The Planning of Communities: Anticipations and Hindsight. PATRICIA KENDALL, Theory and Research: The Case of Studies in Medical Education. LOUIS SCHNEIDER, Ironic Perspective and Sociological Thought. HANAN C. SELVIN, On Formalizing Theory. ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR., Relative Deprivation. CHARLES R. WRIGHT, Social Structure and Mass Communications Behavior: Exploring Patterns through Constructional Analysis.

In the Spirit of Merton: ALVIN W. GOULDNER, Sociology and the Everyday Life. SEYMOUR MARTIN LIPSET and ASOKE BASU, Intellectual Types and Political Roles. ROBERT NISBET, The Myth of the Renaissance. MARY WILSON MILES, The Writings of Robert K. Merton: A Bibliography.

GEORGE, CAROL V. R., editor. "Remember the Ladies": *New Perspectives on Women in American History—Essays in Honor of Nelson Manfred Blake*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1975. Pp. xvi, 201. \$10.00.

Section 1: The Growth of American Feminist Thought. CAROL V. R. GEORGE, Anne Hutchinson and the "Revolution Which Never Happened." MARGUERITE FISHER, Eighteenth-Century Theorists of Women's Liberation. RALPH KETCHAM, The Puritan Ethic in the Revolutionary Era: Abigail Adams and Thomas Jefferson.

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## Other Books Received

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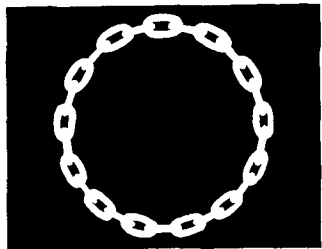
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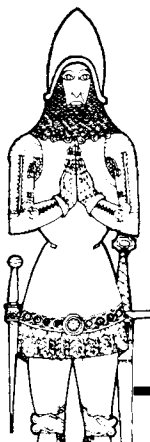
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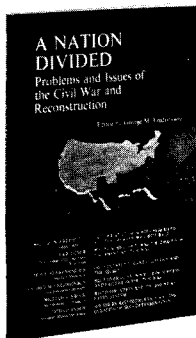
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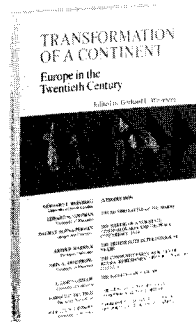
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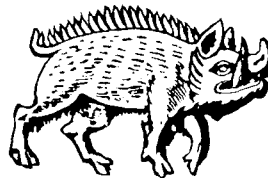
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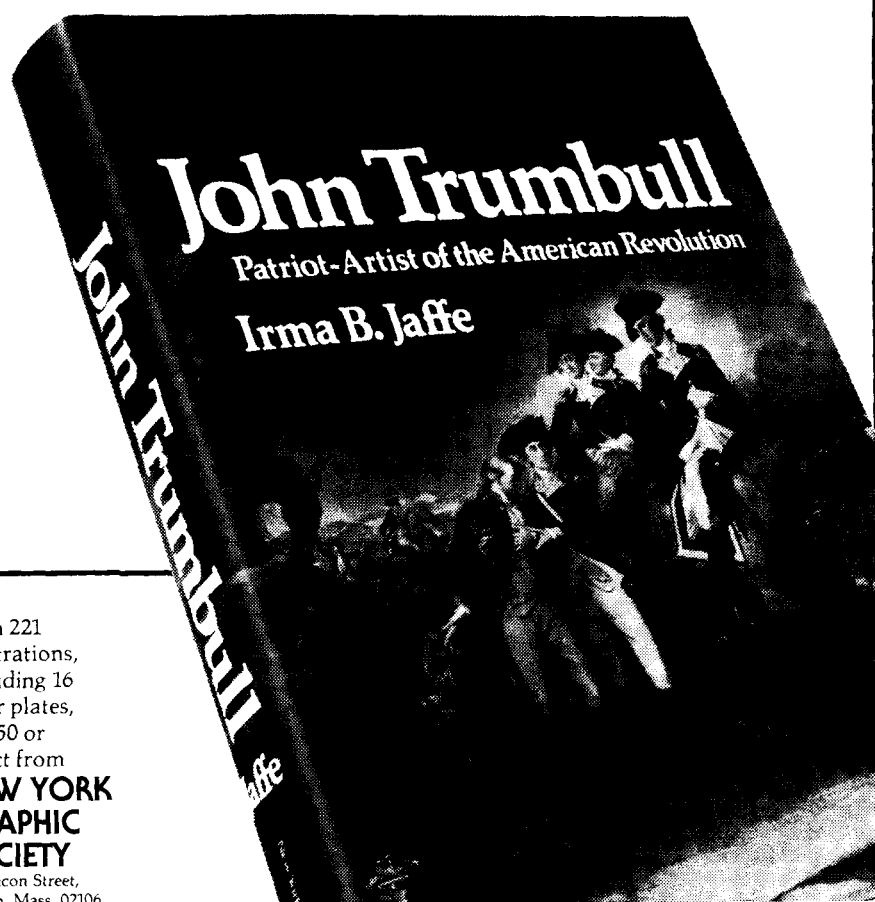
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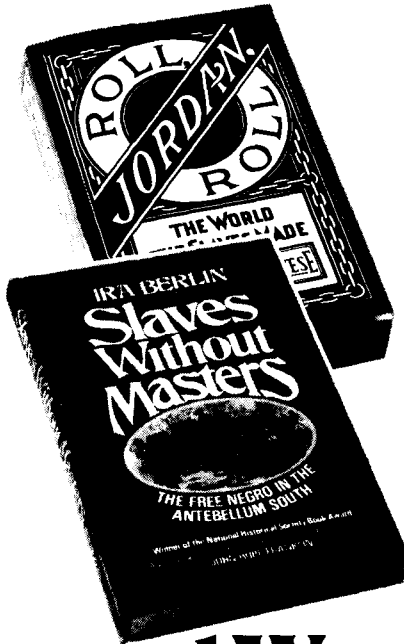
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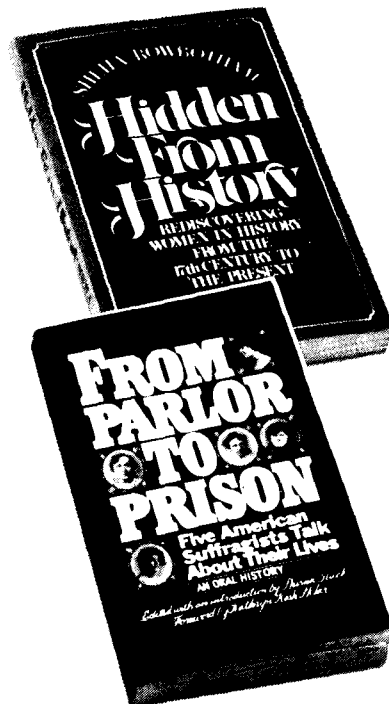
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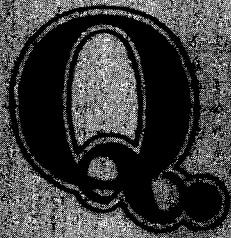
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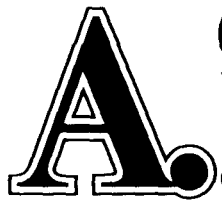
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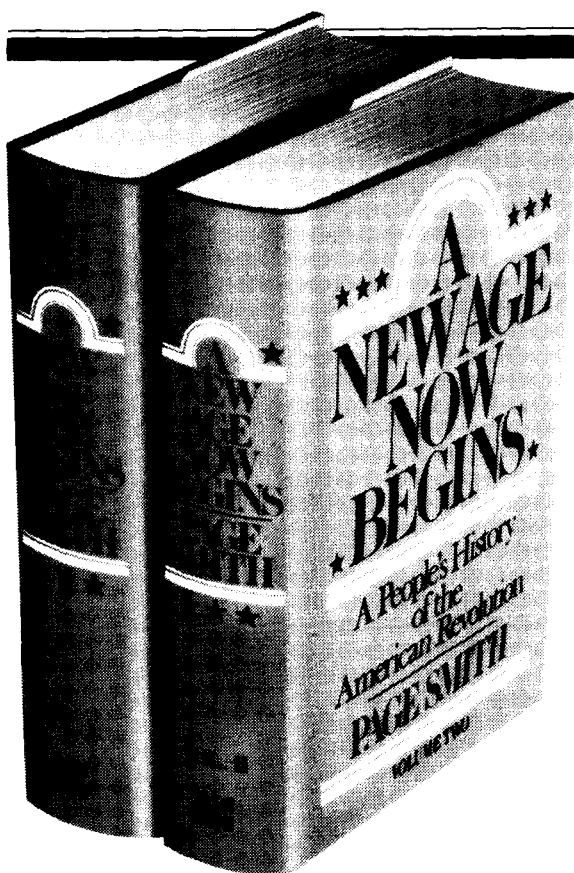
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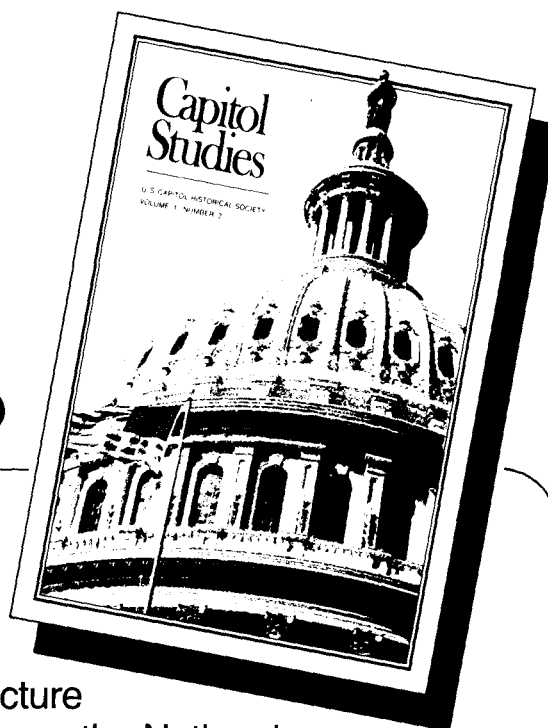


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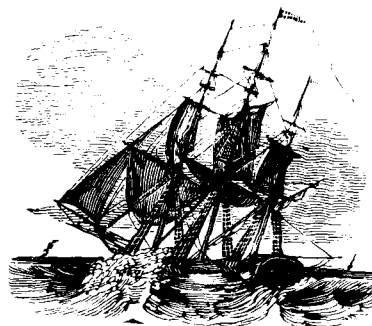
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